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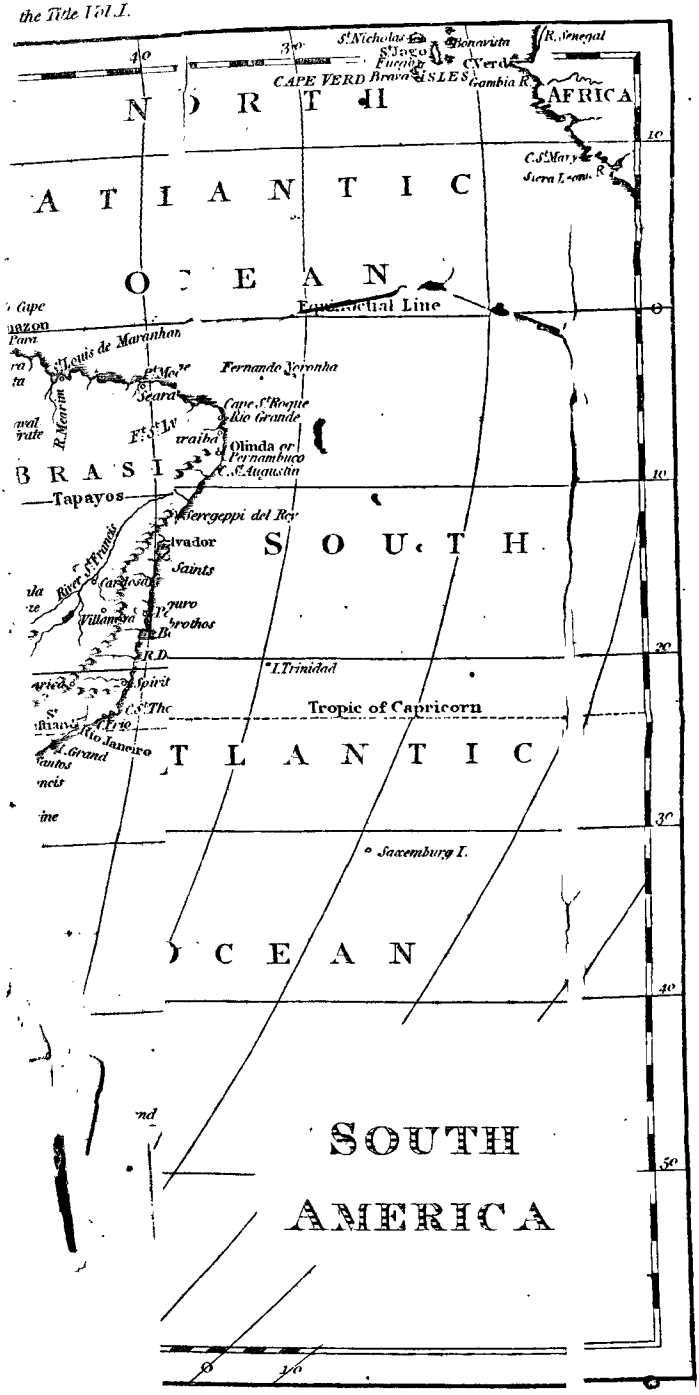
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PREFACE.

A NEW WORLD has been discovered, which has been receiving inhabitants from the old, more than three hundred years. A new empire has arisen, which has been a theatre of great actions and stupendous events. That remarkable discovery, those events and actions, can now be accurately ascertained, without recourse to such legends, as have darkened and disfigured the early annals of most nations. But, while local histories of particular portions of America have been written, no attempt has been made to give even the outline of its entire history. To obtain a general knowledge of that history, the scattered materials, which compose it, must be collected, and arranged in the natural and lucid order of time. Without such arrangement, effects would often be placed before causes; contemporary characters and events disjoined; actions, having no relation to each other, confounded; and much of the pleasure and benefit, which History ought to impart, would be lost. If history however, with chronology, is dark and confused; chronology, without history, is dry and insipid. In the projection therefore of this work, preference was given to that species of historical composition, which unites the essential advantages of both.

It has been uniformly my aim to trace facts, as much as possible, to their source. Original authorities therefore, when they could be obtained, have always had preference. Some authors, of this character, wrote in foreign languages; and this circumstance may be an apology for the occasional introduction of passages, that will not be generally understood. While originals possess a spirit, which cannot be infused into a translation, they recite facts with peculiar clearness and force. Quotations however in foreign languages are always

always inserted in the marginal notes. There also are placed those passages in English, which are obsolete, either in their orthography, or their style. To some persons they may, even there, be offensive; but they may gratify the historian, and the antiquary. The one may be pleased with such marks of authentic documents; the other, with such vestiges of antiquity.

The numerous references may have the appearance of superfluity, perhaps of ostentation. The reason for inserting so many authorities was, that the reader, when desirous of obtaining more particular information, than it was consistent with the plan of these Annals to give, might have the advantage of consulting the more copious histories for himself. Should these volumes serve as an Index to the principal sources of American history, they may render a useful though humble service to the student, who wishes to obtain a thorough knowledge of the history of his country.

Professions of impartiality are of little significance. Although not conscious of having recorded one fact, without such evidence, as was satisfactory to my own mind, or of having suppressed one, which appeared to come within the limits of my design; yet I do not flatter myself with the hope of exemption from error. It is but just however to observe, that, had I possessed the requisite intelligence, more names of eminence would have been introduced; more ancient settlements noticed; and the States in the Federal Union more proportionally respected. For any omission, or other faults, which have not this apology, the extent of the undertaking may obtain some indulgence.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, 10 *October*, 1805.

Advertisement.

The peculiar interest which, at the present juncture, attaches to every species of information connected with the Trans-Atlantic hemisphere, both as occasioned by the political commotions in South America, and the war with North America, has induced the Editor to add to English literature a work which deservedly ranks high in the United States.

The Author possessed many valuable opportunities of consulting the archives of different States and Public Bodies; and of this great advantage he has industriously availed himself, for the purpose of tracing the authenticity of the occurrences narrated, and of arranging the materials so collected in ther natural order, thus accurately to ascertain the discovery and subsequent history of the new world. Original authorities have been consulted in every practicable instance in compiling the work; and the copy received by the Editor was corrected and enriched by MS. emendations from Dr. Holmes' pen. The historian commences wit the earliest period of the discovery of the Americas, including every point of useful and interesting

information connected therewith, and continues his Annals in regular and systematic succession.

While the Editor thus alludes to the peculiar interest which the passing circumstances excite in reference to this work, in justice to the best feelings of humanity, he cannot conclude without adopting the eloquent language of the Quarterly Review, in concluding its critique on the American edition of this work:—"Let but the American government abstain from war, and direct its main "attention to the education of the people and the encouragement of arts and knowledge; and, in a very "few generations their country may vie with Europe. "Above all, let not that Anti-Anglican spirit be cherished, for which there no longer exists a cause. "With whatever indignation they may think of the "past, they ought to remember that it was from "England they imbibed those principles for which "they fought, and by which they triumphed. There "is a sacred bond between us of blood and of language, which no circumstances can break. Our "literature must always continue to be theirs; and, "though their laws are no longer the same as ours, "we have the same Bible, and we address our common Father in the same prayer. Nations are too "ready to admit that they have natural enemies, "why should they be less willing to believe that they "have natural friends?" *Quarterly Review*, Vol. II. page 337.

AMERICAN ANNALS.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of Genoa, having formed a just idea of the figure of the earth, had several years entertained the design of finding a passage to India by the western ocean[1]. He made his first proposal of attempting this discovery to the republic of Genoa, which treated it as visionary. He next proposed his plan to John II. king of Portugal, who, at that time, was deeply engaged in prosecuting discoveries on the African coast, for the purpose of finding a way to India. In this enterprize the Portuguese king had been at so vast an expence, with but small success, that he had no inclination to listen to the proposal. By the advice, however, of a favourite courtier, he privately gave orders to a ship, bound to the island of Cape de Verd, to attempt a discovery in the west; but the navigators, through ignorance and want of enterprize, failing in the design, turned the project of Columbus into ridicule.

Indignant at this dishonourable artifice, Columbus left Portugal; and, having previously sent his brother Bartholomew into England to solicit the patronage of Henry VII. repaired to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain. It was not till he had surmounted numerous obstacles, and spent seven years in painful solicitation, that he obtained what he sought. To the honour of Isabella, and of her sex, the scheme of Columbus was first countenanced by the queen.

[1] Some Spanish authors have ungenerously insinuated, that Columbus was led to this great enterprize by information, which he received, of a country, discovered far to the west, with the additional advantage of a journal of the voyage, in which the discovery was made by a vessel, driven from its course by easterly winds. It is affirmed, however, with entire credibility, that "Columbus had none of the West Islands set foorth unto him in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted and the comentaries upon the same) from 942 yeeres before Christ, untill that day; neither understood he of them by the report of any other that had seene them; but only comforted himselfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the sea had an ending." Hakluyt, iii. 23. Robertson, i. Note xvii.

Through the influence of Juan Perez, a Spanish priest, and Lewis Santangel, an officer of the king's household, she was persuaded to listen to his request; and, after he had been twice repulsed, to recall him to court. She now offered to pledge her jewels, to defray the expence of the proposed equipment, amounting to no more than two thousand five hundred crowns [1]; but this sum was advanced by Santangel, and the queen saved from so mortifying an expedient [2].

On the seventeenth day of April, 1492, an agreement was made by Columbus with their Catholic majesties: That, if he should make any discoveries, he should sustain the office of viceroy by land, and admiral by sea, with the advantage of the tenth part of the profits, accruing from the productions and commerce of all the countries discovered; and these dignities and privileges were not to be limited to his own person, but to be hereditary in his family [3].

Columbus, on the third day of August [4], set sail from Palos in Spain, with three vessels [5] and ninety men, on a voyage the most daring and grand in its design, and the most important in its result, of any, that had ever been attempted. He, as admiral, commanded the largest ship, called Santa Maria; Martin Alonzo Pinzon was captain of the Pinta; and Vincent Yanez

1 This denomination of money, used by most historians, may, without explanation, essentially mislead the reader. They were doubtless *gold* crowns. Vega [Commentaries of Peru, 423.] says, the expence was "six millions of maravadies, making the sum of 16000 ducats." A Spanish ducat of exchange is equal to 4*s*. 11*d*. 1-2, and lacks therefore but a half penny of being equal to an English crown. If the 16000 ducats of Vega be estimated as equal to so many English crowns, they make exactly 4000*l*. sterling; and *this* is the very sum, which, Dr. Robertson says, the expence of the equipment "did not exceed."

2 Life of Columbus, c. xi. xii, xv. with the principal authorities, cited under A. D. 1492.

3 Harris's Voyages, i. 5. The instrument, containing the terms of this agreement, is inserted entire in Hazard's Collections, i. 1—3; but it is there dated April 30, 1492. Though the name of Ferdinand appears connected with that of Isabella in this compact, he refused to take any part in the enterprize, as king of Arragon. The whole expence of the expedition was to be defrayed by the crown of Castile, and Isabella reserved for her subjects of that kingdom an exclusive right to all the benefits, that should accrue from its success. Robertson, i. book ii. Throughout this transaction, the conduct of Isabella was truly magnanimous; and though she did not, like the Tyrian queen, conduct the great enterprize in person, yet she has strong claim to similar honour: *Dux fœmina facti*.

4 He sailed from Gomera, one of the most westerly of the Canary islands, on the 6th of September, "which may be accounted the first setting out upon the voyage on the ocean." Life of Columbus, c. xviii.

5 One of these vessels had a deck; the other two, called Caravels, had none. They are thus described by Peter Martyr: "Ex regio fisco destinata

Yanez Pinzon, of the Nigna. When the fleet was about two hundred leagues to the west of the Canary islands, Columbus observed that the magnetic needle in the compasses did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied toward the west. This discovery made an alarming impression on his pilots and mariners; but his fertile genius helped him to assign a plausible reason for this strange appearance, and to dispel their fears. Expedients, however, at length lost their effect. The crew, with loud and insolent clamour, insisted on his return, and some of the most audacious proposed to throw him into the sea. When his invention was nearly exhausted, and his hope nearly abandoned, the only event that could appease the mariners happily occurred. A light, seen by Columbus at ten in the night of the eleventh of October, was viewed as the harbinger of the wished for land; and early the next morning land was distinctly seen [2]. At sun rise, all the boats were manned and armed, and the adventurers rowed toward the shore, with warlike music, and other martial pomp. The coast, in the mean time, was covered with people [3], who were attracted, by the novelty of the spectacle, and whose attitudes and gestures strongly expressed their astonishment. Columbus, richly dressed, and holding a naked sword in his hand, went first on shore, and was followed by his men, who, kneeling down with him, kissed the ground with tears of joy, and returned thanks for the success of the voyage. The land was one of the islands of the New World, called by the natives, Guanahana [4]. Columbus, assuming the title and authority of admiral, called it San Salvador; and, by setting up

nata sunt tria navigia: unum onerarium caveatum, alia duo levia mercatoria sine caveis, quæ ab Hispanis caravelæ vocantur." De Nov. Orb. p. 2.

1 Stow erroneously ascribes this discovery to Sebastian Cabot, five years after this voyage of Columbus. It unquestionably was made in this first voyage. With the correction of the name and date, the remark of this venerable antiquarian is just: "Before his time, ever since the first finding of the magneticall needle, it was generallie supposed to lie precisely in place of the meridian, and crosse the equator at right angels, respecting with the points dulie north and south." Stow's Chronicle, p. 811.

2 The voyage from Gomera was 35 days; a longer time than any man had ever been known to be from the sight of land.

3 They "appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked." *Robertson.*

4 It is one of that cluster of the West India islands, called Bahamas, lying in the 25th degree of north latitude, above 3000 miles to the west of Gomera. Robertson, i. book ii. Belknap, Biog. i. 101. The authors of the Universal History [xli. 320, 331.] erroneously affirm this first discovered island to be the one, now called New Providence, which is *another* of the Bahama islands, in its neighbourhood. The island, discovered by Columbus, still retains its original Indian name, though it is also denominated in maps, Cat Island. It is remarkable for nothing, but the event that we have recited.

a cross, took possession of it for their Catholic majesties [1].

Many of the natives stood around, and gazed at the strange ceremony in silent admiration. Though shy at first through fear, they soon became familiar with the Spaniards. The admiral, perceiving that they were simple and inoffensive, gave them hawksbells, strings of glass beads, and red caps, which, though of small intrinsic worth, wereby them highly valued. The reason, assigned for their peculiar estimation of these baubles, is, that, confidently believing that these visitants had come down from heaven [2], they ardently desired to have something left them as a memorial. They gave the Spaniards, in return, such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, which was the only valuable commodity they could produce [3].

Columbus, after visiting the coasts of the island, proceeded to make farther discoveries, taking with him several of the natives of San Salvador. He saw several islands, and touched at three of the largest of them, which he named St. Mary of the Conception, Fernandina, and Isabella. On the twenty-seventh of October, he discovered the island of Cuba, which, in honour of the prince, the son of the Spanish king and queen, he called Juanna. Entering the mouth of a large river with his squadron, he staid here to careen his ships, sending, in the mean time, some of his people with one of the natives of San Salvador, to view the interior parts of the country. Returning to him on the fifth of November, they report, that they had travelled above sixty miles from the shore; that the soil is richer and better, than any they had hitherto discovered; and that, beside many scattering cottages, they found one village of fifty houses, containing about a thousand inhabitants [4]. Sailing from Cuba on the fifth of December, he arrived, the next day, at an island, called by the natives Hayti, which, in honour of the kingdom, by which he was employed, he named Hispaniola [5].

On the shoals of this island, through the carelessness of his sailors, he lost one of his ships. The Indian cazique [6], or prince,

1 Life of Columbus, c. ii. xvi.—xxi. xxiii. Peter Martyr, 2. Herrera, i. 47. Purchas, i. 729, 730. European Settlements in America, i. 5—11. Robertson, i. 119, 128.

2 —"Gentem esse missam è cœlo autumant." P. Martyr, p. 4.

3 Life of Columbus, c. xxiii. xxiv. Robertson, i. book ii. Herrera, i. 47.

4 Robertson, i. book ii. Herrera [i. 54.] says "a whole generation lived in a house."

5 "Ab Hispania—diminitivè Hispaniola." P. Martyr, 245. Herrera, i. 107, 158.

6 This title, which signifies *lord* or *prince*, is rightly applied to the princes of Hayti: for, according to Clavigero, "it is derived from the Haitin tongue,

prince, Guacanahari, receiving intelligence of this loss, expressed much grief, and sent all his people with their canoes, to save what they could from the wreck. "We lost not the value of a pin," says the admiral, "for he caused all our clothes to be laid together near his palace, where he kept them till the houses, which he had appointed for us, were emptied. He placed armed men, to keep them, who stood there all day and all night; and all the people lamented, as if our loss had concerned them much."

The port, where this misfortune happened, Columbus called Navidad [the Nativity], because he entered it on Christmas day. Resolving to leave a colony here, he obtained liberty of the cazique to erect a fort, which he accordingly built with the timber of the ship, that was wrecked; and, leaving it in the hands of three officers and thirty-eight men, prepared to return to Spain [1].

1493.

Columbus, having taken every precaution for the security of his colony, left Navidad on the fourth of January; and, after discovering and naming most of the harbours on the northern coast of Hispaniola, set sail, on the sixteenth, for Spain, taking with him six of the natives [2]. On the fourteenth of February, he was overtaken by a violent tempest, and, in the extremity of danger, united with the mariners in imploring the aid of Almighty God, mingled with supplications to the Virgin Mary, and accompanied by vows of pilgrimage. That his discoveries, in case of shipwreck, might not be lost, he wrote an account of them on parchment, wrapped it in a piece of oiled cloth, and inclosed it in a cake of wax, which he put into a tight cask, and threw into the

tongue, which was spoken in this island of Hispaniola." But it was afterwards inaccurately applied to the nobles of Mexico, who, though divided into several classes, with appropriate titles to each, "were confounded together by the Spaniards under the general name of *caziques*." Hist. Mexico, i. 346.

1 Life of Columbus, c. xxvii. xxx. xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxv. Herrera, i. 51—75, 78. Purchas, i. 730. Univ. Hist. xli. 487. Robertson, i. book ii. In the Life of Columbus, the *port* is said to be named Navidad; but Herrera, and Robertson after him, say, that this name was given to the fort. This fortification was finished in ten days; the poor natives unwarily helping it forward; "that simple race of men;" to use the words of Dr. Robertson, "labouring with inconsiderate assiduity in erecting this first monument of their own servitude."

2 Purchas, i. 730. Two of these natives died on their passage to Spain; the other four were presented to his Catholic majesty by Columbus, together with a quantity of gold, which had been given to him by the cazique at Hispaniola. Univ. Hist. xl. 487.

sea. Another parchment, secured in a similar manner, he placed on the stern, that, if the ship should sink, the cask might float, and one or the other might possibly be found. But his precaution, though prudent was fruitless; for he was providentially saved from the expected destruction, and, on the fourth of March, arrived safety at Lisbon. On his arrival at Palos on the fifteenth, he was received with the highest tokens of honour, by the king and queen [1], who now constituted him admiral of Spain [2].

Columbus adhering to his opinion, that the countries, which he had discovered, were a part of those vast regions of Asia comprehended under the name of India, and this opinion being adopted in Europe, Ferdinand and Isabella gave them the name of Indies [3].

The Portuguese, having previously explored the Azores and other islands, instantly claimed the newly discovered world, and contended for the exclusion of the Spaniards from the navigation of the western ocean [4]. Their competitors, however, were careful to obtain the highest confirmation possible of their own claim. While orders were given at Barcelona for the admiral's return to Hispaniola [5]; to strengthen the Spanish title to this island, and to other countries that were or should be discovered, their Catholic majesties [6], by the admiral's advice, applied to the Pope, to obtain his sanction of their claims,

1. "Sedere illum coram se publicè, quod est maximum apud *reges* Hispanos amoris et gratitudinis, supremique obsequii signum, *fecerunt*." P. Martyr, p. 8.

2 Robertson, i. book ii. Harris, Voyages, i. 6. Herrera, i. 84, 86, 93. Belknap, Biog. i. 102.

3 Robertson, i. Book ii. Names, however improperly applied, are apt to be permanent. "Even after the error, which gave rise to this opinion, was detected, and the true position of the New World was ascertained, the name has remained, and the appellation of *West Indies* is given by all the people of Europe to the country, and that of *Indians* to its inhabitants." Ibid.

4 Chalmers. Annals, i. 6.

5 The second commission to Columbus is dated May 28, 1493. It is inserted entire in Hazard's Collections, i. 6—9.

6 The king of Portugal, according to Peter Martyr, agreed with them in a reference of the dispute to the Pope of Rome; but it might be at a subsequent period. By this contemporary historian it appears, that the queen of Spain was a niece of the Portuguese king, and that this connection facilitated an adjustment of the controversy. "Dum ità in confuso res tractaretur, pars utraque pacta est, ut a summo Pontifice decerneretur quid juris. Futuros se obtemperantes Pontificæ sanctioni, fide jubent utrinque. Res Castellæ tunc regina illa magna Elizabetha eum viros regebat, quia dotalia ejus regna Castellæ sint. Erat regina Joanni regi Portugaliæ consobrina: propterea facilius res est composita. Ex utriusque partis igitur assensu, lineam ex plumbata bulla summus Pontifex Alexander Sextus, &c." P. Martyr, p. 161.

and

and his consent for the conquest of the West Indies. An ambassador was sent to Rome. The Pope, then in the chair, was Alexander VI. a Spaniard by birth, and a native of Valentia. Readily acceding to the proposal, he, on the third of May [1], adjudged the great process, and made the celebrated line of partition. He granted in full right to Ferdinand and Isabella, all the countries, inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover, extending the assignment to their heirs and successors, the queens of Castile and Leon. To prevent the interference of this grant with one formerly made to the crown of Portugal, he directed that a line, supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues westward of the Azores, should serve as a boundary; and bestowed all the countries to the east of this imaginary line, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, on the Portuguese, and all to the west of it, on the Spaniards [2].

How astonishingly great, at this period, was the influence of the Pope of Rome! This sovereign Pontiff, "in virtue of that power which he received from Jesus Christ, conferred on the crown of Castile vast regions, to the possession of which he himself was so far from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and ignorant even of their existence [3]." Although neither the Spaniards, nor the Portuguese, now suspected the validity of the Papal grant, yet the other nations of Europe would not suffer them quietly to enjoy their shares [4]. In the progress of these Annals, we shall find different nations planting colonies in the New World, without leave of the Catholic king, or even of his Holiness. It early became a law among the European nations, that the countries, which each should explore, should be deemed the

1 One bull, granting their Catholic majesties "the sovereign dominion of the Indies, with supreme jurisdiction over all that hemisphere," was passed on the 2d of May. But the *Great Bull* (on every account entitled to that name) was issued on the day following. A copy of it in the original Latin, with an English translation, is preserved in Harris, Voyages, i. 6—8. It is also in Haz. Coll. i. 3—6. See Herrera, i. 96.

2 Life of Columbus, c. xlii. Herrera, i. 96. Robertson, i. book ii. Chalmers, i. 6. Belknap, Biog. i. 103: and the authorities at the close of this year. The Portuguese, it seems, were dissatisfied with the Papal partition. The subject was therefore referred to six plenipotentiaries, three chosen from each nation, whose conferences issued in an agreement, that the line of partition, in the Pope's bull, should be extended two hundred and seventy leagues farther to the west; that all westward of that line should fall to the share of the Spaniards, and all eastward of it to the Portuguese. This agreement was made 7 June, 1493. It was sealed by the king of Spain 2 July that year; and by the king of Portugal 27 February, 1494. Herrera, i. 116, 117. Harris, Voyages, i. 8.

3 Robertson, i. book ii.

4 Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws, book xxi. c. xvii.

absolute property of that discoverer, from which all others should be entirely excluded [1]. Above a century [2] after this papal grant, the parliament of England insisted, That occupancy confers a good title by the law of nations and nature.

On the twenty-fifth of September Columbus sailed from Cadiz, on his second voyage to the New World. The equipment made for him proves in what an advantageous light his past discoveries and present enterprize were viewed. He was furnished with a fleet of three ships of war and fourteen caravels, with all necessaries for settlement or conquest [3], and 1500 people, some of whom were of the best families of Spain [4]. On the Lord's day, the third of November, he discovered one of the Caribbee islands, which, because it was discovered on that day, he called Dominica [5]. Going on shore at an adjacent island, he called it by his ship's name, Marigalante, and took solemn possession before a notary and witnesses [6]. On the fifth he discovered Guadaloupe [7]; on the tenth, Montserrat [8] and Antigua. After discovering, to the northwest, fifty more islands, he came into the port of Navidad. Not a Spaniard, however, was to be seen; and the fort, which he had built here, was entirely demolished. The tattered garments, broken arms, and utensils, scattered about its ruins, too clearly indicated the miserable fate of the garrison. While the Spaniards were weeping over these relics of their countrymen, a brother of the friendly cazique Guacanahari arrived, and confirmed all their dismal apprehensions. He informed Columbus, that, on his departure, the men, whom he left behind, threw off all regard to their commanding officer; that by fa-

1 Chalmers, i. 6. 2 A. D. 1621. Ibid.

3 Univ. Hist. xli. 487. "Ultra ducentos et mille armatos pedites—inter quos omnium mechanicarum artium fabros et opifices innumeros—equites quosdam cæteris armatis immixtos." P. Martyr, p. 9. This author is of primary authority on this article; for he received and recorded his information of the facts, relating to this voyage, soon after the departure of Columbus. "Hæc nobis intra paucos dies ab ejus discessu renunciata fuerunt." Decade i. dated, 1498.

4 Hakluyt, iii. 4. Univ. Hist. xlv. 345. Two of the brothers of Columbus were among the passengers. Harris, Voy. i. 269.

5 Herrera, i. 106. 6 Ibid.

7 This island was thus named, from its resemblance to a chain of mountains of that name in Spain. It was the principal residence of the Caribbees, who called it Carucueria. To these wild and savage people, the Spaniards could obtain no access. "Hi nostris visis, vel terrore, vel scelerum conscientia permoti, inter sese exorto murmure, altar in alterum oculos flectentes, cæteo facto ex insperato, celerrimè, ut multitudo avium, concitati, ad nemorosas valles pedem referunt." P. Martyr, p. 13, 266. Univ. Hist. xli. 237.

8 Thus named, for its lofty mountains: "quoniam altis montibus instructa esset, Montem Serratum illam vocant." P. Martyr, p. 15.

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miliar intercourse with the Indians, they lessened that veneration for themselves, which was first entertained, and, by indiscretions and ill conduct, effaced every favourable impression, that had first been made; that the gold, the women, the provisions of the natives, became subject to their licentious prey; that, under these provocations and abuses, the cazique of Cibao surprized and cut off several of them as they straggled about, heedless of danger; that then, assembling his subjects, he surrounded the fort, and set fire to it; that some of the Spaniards were killed in defending it; and that the rest perished, in attempting to escape by crossing an arm of the sea [1].

Leaving Navidad, he sailed eastwardly; and, at the same island, anchored before a town of Indians, where he resolved to plant a colony. He accordingly landed all his men, provisions, and utensils, in a plain, near a rock on which a fort might be conveniently erected. Here he built a town, which, in honour of the queen of Castile, he called Isabella. This was the first town, founded by Europeans in the New World [2].

1494.

Columbus in the spring dispatched twelve vessels for Spain; and after a prosperous voyage they arrived safely in April at Cadiz [3].

Leaving Peter Margarite the command of three hundred and sixty foot and fourteen horse, to reduce Hispaniola under obedience to their Catholic majesties, he now sailed for Cuba, which he descried on the 29th of April. Sailing along its southern shore, he discovered on the fifth of May another island, called Jamaica [4]. Here, on landing, he met with much opposition from the ferocious natives; but, after repeated defeats, they became tractable, and even brought food to barter [5]. Although Columbus appears to have made no settlement at Jamaica; yet, so favourable was the opinion that he entertained of the island, that he marked it out as an estate for his family [6].

A huni-

1 Robertson, i. book ii.

2 Life of Columbus, c. ii. & xlv—li. Herrera, i. 106—113. Purchas, i. 781. P. Martyr, 11—13. European Settlements, i. 19, 20. Universal Hist. xli. 258, Robertson, i. book ii.

3 P. Martyr, 10.

4 Jamaica is probably an Indian word, for Oviedo mentions a river in Hispaniola, of that name. Univ. Hist. xli. 346.

5 Univ. Hist. xli. 346. "Pluribus in locis volenti Præfecto terram capere, armati ac minitantes occurrerunt, pugnasque sæpius attentârunt: sed victi semper, amicitiam omnes cum Præfecto iniêre." P. Martyr, p. 29.

6 The son and family of Columbus, considering Jamaica as their own property, built upon it St. Jago de la Vega, and several other towns, that were

A hurricane, more violent than any within the remembrance of the natives, occurred in June at Hispaniola. Without any tempest, or fluctuation of the sea, it repeatedly whirled around three ships, lying at anchor in port, and plunged them in the deep. The natives ascribed this disorder of the elements to the Spaniards[1].

Columbus, on his return to Hispaniola, to his inexpressible joy, met his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, after a separation of thirteen years[2]. The brother's arrival could not have been at a more seasonable juncture. Columbus essentially needed his friendly counsels and aid; for all things were in confusion, and the colony was in the utmost danger of being destroyed. Four of the principal sovereigns of the island, provoked at the disorderly and outrageous conduct of the Spaniards, had united with their subjects to drive out their invaders[3]. Columbus, first marching against a cazique, who had

were abandoned on account of the advantages attending the situation of St. Jago, which increased so greatly, as in a short time to contain, according to report, 1700 houses, 2 churches, 2 chapels, and an abbey. The court of Spain, notwithstanding its ingratitude to the father, granted both the property and government of Jamaica to his family; and his son Diego Columbus was its first European governor. But the descendants of Columbus degenerated from his virtues, and they, or their agents, murdered 60,000 of the natives. Univ. Hist. xli. 348.

1 P. Martyr, 45. "Gentem hanc perturbâsse elementa, atque portenta hæc tulisse, immurmurabant insulares." Ibid.

2 Herrera, i. 138. Bartholomew Columbus was so unfortunate, in his voyage to England, as to fall into the hands of pirates, who detained him a prisoner for several years. When he had, at length, made his escape, and arrived at London, so extreme was his indigence, that he was obliged to spend considerable time in drawing and selling maps, to procure money sufficient to purchase a decent dress, in which he might venture to appear at court. He then laid his brother's proposals before the king [Henry VII;] but with little effect. "This prince," it has been justly remarked, "was rather a prudent steward and manager of a kingdom, than a great king, and one of those defensive genuises, who are the last in the world to relish a great but problematic design." But, with all his excessive caution and parsimony, he received the overtures of Columbus with more approbation, than any monarch, to whom they had hitherto been communicated. When Bartholomew had finished his negociation in England, he set out for Spain, by the way of France, and at Paris received information of his brother's extraordinary discoveries in his first voyage, and of his preparation for a second expedition. This intelligence hastened him on his journey; but before he reached Spain, the Admiral had sailed for Hispaniola. He was received, however, with due respect by Ferdinand and Isabella, who persuaded him to take the command of three ships, which they had appointed to carry provisions to the colony at Isabella. Robertson, i. book ii.

3 P. Martyr's account of the enormities of the Spaniards sufficiently

shews,

had killed sixteen Spaniards, easily subdued him; and sent several of his subjects prisoners to Spain [1].

1495.

The unsubdued caziques of Hispaniola still showing a determination to destroy, if possible, the Spanish colony, Columbus set out from Isabella, to carry on the war against them. His army consisted of no more than "200 Christians, 20 horses, and as many dogs;" but the Indians are said to have raised already 100,000 men. The Spaniards soon routed the Indians, and obtained a complete victory. The admiral spent a year in ranging the island; and, in this time, reduced it under such obedience, that all the natives from fourteen years of age and upward, inhabiting the province of Cibao, where are gold mines, promised to pay as a tribute to their Catholic majesties, every three months, a hawk's bell full of gold dust; and every other inhabitant of the island, twenty-five pounds of cotton [2].

The tranquillity of England, at this period, being propitious to the increase of its commerce and manufactures, London now contained merchants from all parts of Europe. The Lombards and Venetians, in particular, were remarkably numerous. Among these foreigners, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctus, were living in London. The father, perfectly skilled in the sciences requisite to form an accomplished mariner, was led by his knowledge of the globe to suppose, that a shorter way from England to India might be found by the northwest. The famous discovery of the New World caused great astonishment and much conversation in the court of Henry VII. of England, and among the English merchants; and the specimens of gold carried home by Columbus, excited an ardent desire of prosecuting

shews, why the poor natives were at once united and desperate: "Ea gens, quæ Præfectum in ea navigatione secuta fuerat majori ex parte indomita, vaga, cui nihil pensi esset, libertatem sibi, quoque modo posset, quæritans, ab injuriis minimè se abstinere poterat, Insularium fœminas, ante parentum, fratrum, et virorum oculos raptans, stupris rapinis que intenta, animos omnium incolarum perturbarat. Quamobrem pluribus in locis quotquot imparatos è nostris incolæ reperiebant, rapidè, et tanquam sacra offerentes Deo, trucidaverunt." De Nov. Orb. p. 30.

1 Life of Columbus, c. liv.—lxi. Robertson, i. book ii., European Settlements, i. 24.

2 Life of Columbus, c. lxi. Herrera, i. 145. The measure, said by Herrera to be "a small hawk's bell," is wrought up, unmercifully, by some historians, into "a large horse bell." It was, in truth, a little bell, worn by the hawk in the sport of a falconer. Herrera [i. 145.] says, that "only king Manicatex gave, every month, half a gourd full of gold, being worth 150 pesos or peices of eight."

this

this discovery. The adventurous spirit of John Cabot was heightened by the ardour of his son Sebastian, who, though young, was ambitious, and, at the same time, well versed in every science, subservient to a mathematical knowledge of the earth, and to navigation.

With these incitements to the meditated enterprize, he communicated to the king his project, which was favourably received. A commission was accordingly, on the fifth of March, granted to him and his three sons [1], giving them liberty to sail to all parts of the east, west, and north, under the royal banners and ensigns, to discover countries of the heathen, unknown to Christians; to set up the king's banners there; to occupy and possess, as his subjects, such places as they could subdue; giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the king one-fifth part of all their gains [2].

1496.

While Columbus was successfully establishing the foundations of Spanish grandeur in the New World, his enemies were assiduously labouring to deprive him of his merited honour and emoluments. The calamities, arising from a long voyage and an unhealthful climate, were represented as the effects of his ambition; the discipline, maintained by his prudence, as excess of rigour; the punishments, that he inflicted on the mutineers, as cruelty. Resolved to return to Spain, to vindicate himself from these false charges, already made against him to the Spanish court, he exerted the small remains of his authority in settling affairs for the prevention of such disorders, as had taken place during his former absence. He built forts in the principal parts of the island; established the civil government on a better footing; and redoubled his diligence for the discovery of mines. Having made these prudential ar-

1 The style of the commission is, "*Johanni Cabotto*, Civi Venetiarum, ac *Ludovico*, *Sebastiano*, et *Sancto*, Filiis dicti Johannis," &c. It is dated the 5th of March in the eleventh year of the reign of Henry VII. Henry was crowned Oct. 30, 1485. If *that* year be reckoned the *first* of his reign, this commission is rightly placed by Hakluyt, Robertson, and others, in 1495; but, if the first year of his reign be reckoned from 1486, the commission must be placed, where Rymer and some others have placed it, in 1496.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 4, 5, 7; where may be seen the Letters Patent; as also in Rymer's Fœdera, xii. 595; and in Chalmers, Annals, i. 7. Chalmers says, it is the oldest American State Paper of England. See also Purchas, i. 718. Life of Columbus, c. lxiii. P. Martyr, 46. Belknap, Biog. i. 149, 150. Robertson, book ix. 16. Forster's Voyages, 266.

rangements,

rangements, he set sail from Isabella, on the tenth of March [1], with 225 Spaniards and 30 Indians; leaving the supreme power in the government of the Province to his brother Bartholomew, with the title of Adelantado; and the administration of justice to Francis Roldan, with the title of Alcalde [2].

The natives of Hispaniola, by wars with the Spaniards, and a pestilential disease, occasioned by the damp places in which they concealed themselves to shun their enemy, were already essentially reduced in numbers and in strength. It is asserted by a very credible historian, that one-third of these wretched inhabitants had now perished [3].

Three ships having arrived in July at Isabella with provisions from Cadiz, Bartholomew Columbus, on dispatching them for their return to Spain, sent on board three hundred Indian slaves. This measure was in compliance with the royal mandate; for their Catholic majesties, on receiving information, that some caziques had killed the Spaniards, had ordered, that, whoever should be found guilty of that crime, should be sent to Spain [4].

The country on the southern coast of Hispaniola, appearing very beautiful, was judged an eligible place for settlement. Bartholomew Columbus, having received written orders from his brother Christopher in Spain, to remove the colony from Isabella to the south part of the island, now began a settlement there [5], and, in memory of his father, whose name was Dominick, called it Santo Domingo [6].

1497.

Henry VII. on the third of February gave permission to John Cabot, to take six English ships in any haven or havens of the realm of England, being of the burden of two hundred tons or under, with the requisite furniture, and all such masters, mariners, and subjects of the king, as should be willing to accompany him [7]. Whatever might have been the cause, an equipment appears not to have been made, to the extent of the royal licence.

1 He visited several of the West India islands before his departure for Spain, which was not till the 20th of April. Herrera, i. 154.

2 P. Martyr, 8, 46. Herrera, i. 153.

3 Herrera, i. 147. 4 Ibid i. 168.

5 Herrera, 168, 169.

6 Life of Columbus, c. lxxiii. P. Martyr, 66.

7 Hakluyt, i. 511, where is inserted a record of the rolls, relating to this voyage entitled, "Billa signata Anno 13 Henrici 7." See Hazard, Coll. i. 10. Chalmers, i. 8. Brit. Emp. in America, i. *Introd.* vi.

In

In the beginning of May [1], Cabot and his son Sebastian and three hundred men [2] with two caravels, freighted by the merchants of London and Bristol, commenced a voyage of discovery [3]. On the twenty-fourth of June they were surprised by the sight of land, which, being the first they had seen, they called Prima Vista. This is generally supposed to be some part of the island of Newfoundland. A few days afterward they discovered a smaller island, to which, on account probably of its being discovered on the day of John the Baptist, they gave the name of St. John. Continuing their course westwardly, they soon reached the continent, and then sailed along the coast northwardly to the latitude of 67 and a half degrees [4]. Finding that the coast stretched toward the east, and despairing of making the desired discovery here, they turned back, and sailed along the coast toward the equator, "ever with an intent to find the passage to India," till they came to the southernmost part of that tract of the continent, which has since been called Florida. Their provisions now failing, and a mutiny breaking out among the mariners, they returned to England, without attempting either settlement or conquest in any part of the New World [5].

Through a singular succession of causes, sixty-one years elapsed from the time of this discovery of the northern division of the Continent by the English, during which their monarchs gave little attention to this country, which was destined to be annexed to their crown, and to be a chief source of British opulence and power, till, in process of time, it should become an independent empire [6]. This remarkable neglect of navigating the coast, and of attempting colonization, is in some measure accounted for by the frugal maxims of Henry VII. and the unpropitious circumstances of the reign of Henry VIII. of Edward VI. and of the bigotted Mary; reigns peculiarly adverse to the extension of industry, trade, and navigation [7].

1 See Note I. at the end of the volume.

2 P. Martyr, 232.

3 Fabian, in his Chronicle, says, that one ship at Bristol was manned and victualled at the king's cost; that divers merchants of London ventured in her small stocks; and that in the company of the said ship sailed also out of Bristol three or four small ships, "fraught with sleight and grosse merchandizes." Hakluyt, i. 515.

4 For an illustration of the probable extent of this voyage, to the north and south, see Note I. at the end of the volume.

5 P. Martyr, 232. Hakluyt, i. 513; iii. 6—9. Smith, Hist. Virginia, p. 1. Purchas, i. 737, 738. Josselyn's Voyages, 230. Harris, i. 860. Robertson, b. ix. 16, 17. Univ. Hist. xl. 378. Forster, 266, 451. Belknap, Biog. i. 152. Mather's Magnalia, i. 3. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 80. Biog. Britan. *Art.* GILBERT.

6 Robertson, book ix. p. 22.

7 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 235, 406. Brit. Emp. *Introd.* vi. vii.

While

1498.

While the testimonies of fidelity and good conduct, carried by Columbus to Spain, silenced the personal calumnies of his enemies, the large specimens of gold and pearl, which he produced, proved the falsity of their representation of the poverty of the Indies. The court became fully convinced of the importance of the new colony, the merit of its governor, and the necessity of a speedy supply. Two ships were sent out in February with succours, under the command of Peter Fernandez Coronel. The admiral staid to negotiate for a fleet, adequate to his enlarged views and purposes. But his enemies, though silenced, were not idle. All the obstructions, which they could raise, were thrown in his way. It was not therefore till after a thousand delays and disappointments, that he was enabled to set out again in prosecution of his discoveries. He at length received commission to carry, if he should think fit, five hundred men, provided that all above three hundred and thirty [1] should be paid otherwise, than out of the king's revenue; and was allowed for the expedition six millions of maravedies; four, for the provisions to be put on board the fleet, and two, for the pay of the men. It was now also provided, that none of any nation, but the Castilian, should go over to the West Indies [2].

On the thirtieth of May he sailed from Spain, on his third voyage, with six ships, loaded with provisions and other necessaries, for the relief and population of Hispaniola [3]. On the thirty-first of July, in the ninth degree of north latitude, he discovered an island, which he called Trinidad. On the first of August he discovered the continent at Terra Firma. Sailing along the coast westwardly, with the continent on the left, he discovered Margarita. The Spaniards, finding that the oysters, brought by the inhabitants of this island on board the ship of Columbus, contained pearls, were inexpressibly delighted; and, hastening to the shore, found all the natives decked in these rich ornaments, which they disposed of to the Spaniards for mere trifles [4].

Columbus, having discovered many other islands for two hundred leagues to Cape Vela, anchored on the twentieth off Hispaniola [5]. On the thirtieth he entered the harbour at that

1 By advice of Columbus it was resolved, that 330 men should be kept always on the island of Hispaniola, in the royal pay. Herrera, i. 156.

2 Herrera, i. 156—158.

3 P. Martyr, 58. Europ. Settlements, i. 38, 39. Harris, Voyages, i. 270.

4 Univ. Hist. xli. 527.

5 Life of Columbus, c. lxv—lxxiii. Purchas, i. 823, 827. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 80. Europ. Settlements, i. 140.

island,

island, where the lieutenant, agreeably to his brother's advice, had appointed a new city to be built [1]. Until this year, Isabella had been the chief place of the residence and government of the Spanish colony; but the capital was now transferred to this new city [2]; which was long the most considerable European settlement in the New World [3].

In the absence of the admiral, Roldan, a man of obscure birth [4], and of base character, though now high in office, had separated himself from Bartholomew Columbus, and formed a faction. He had virulently aspersed the characters, and misrepresented the designs, of the two brothers. He had sent his scandalous charges in writing to the court of Spain; intending to prevent, if possible, the return of Christopher Columbus, and to destroy the authority of both [5]. He had been chosen the leader of a considerable number of the Spaniards, whom he had excited to mutiny; and, taking arms, had seized the king's magazine of provisions, and endeavoured to surprise the fort at St. Domingo [6]. It required all the address and vigour of Columbus, to subdue this faction. He at length succeeded; and in November articles of agreement were made between him and Roldan, with his insurgents [7].

1499.

Columbus, accompanied by his brother the lieutenant, having set out in February to pass through the island of Hispaniola, came in March to Isabella, and in April to the Conception. It was his intention to go early the next year to St. Domingo, to make preparation for his return to Spain, to give their Catholic majesties an account of all transactions [8].

The spirit of discovery beginning to spread itself widely, private adventurers in Spain and Portugal, stimulated by the

1 Life of Columbus, c. lxxiii.

2 Purchas, i. 731. Though Isabella was chosen in 1493, as a situation more healthful and commodious than that of Navidad, yet its abandonment is ascribed to the unhealthiness of the air, and the badness of the soil. "Ce qui a fait abandonner cette ville, c'est que l'air en étoit malsain et les terres mauvaises." Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* ISABELLE.

3 Robertson, i. book ii.

4 "Roldanum quendam—quem fossorum et calonum ductorem ex famulo suo, deindo justitiæ præsidem, Præfectus erexerat." P. Martyr, 56.

5 P. Martyr, 67. Purchas, i. 731.

6 Robertson, i. book ii.

7 Life of Columbus, c. lxxxi. By this agreement, the mutineers were to have two ships, with provisions, to carry them to Spain, and each of them might take a slave with him. Herrera, i. 210.

8 Life of Columbus, c. lxxxiv.

gold

gold remitted to Europe by Columbus, made equipments at their own expence. Among the earliest of these adventurers was Alonso de Ojeda, a gallant and active officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his first voyage. Aided by the patronage of the bishop of Badajos, he obtained the royal licence for the enterprize; the bishop, at the same time, communicating to him the admiral's journal of his last voyage, and his charts of the countries, which he had discovered. Such was Ojeda's credit with the merchants of Seville, that they equipped him with four ships, with which he sailed from St. Mary's in Spain on the twentieth of May. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, eminently skilful in all the sciences subservient to navigation, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage. Pursuing the course of the great navigator for the New World, they in twenty-seven days discovered land in about five degrees north latitude, on the coast of Paria. Having traded here with the natives, they stood to the west, proceeded as far as Cape Vela, and ranged a considerable extent of coast beyond that, on which Columbus had touched. After ascertaining the truth of the opinion of Columbus, that this country was part of the continent, they sailed to Hispaniola, where they arrived on the fifth of September, and soon after returned to Spain. The country, of which Amerigo was erroneously supposed to be the discoverer, not long after unjustly obtained his name; and by universal consent, this new quarter of the globe has ever since been called America 1.

Another voyage of discovery was undertaken by Alonso Nigno, who had served under the admiral in his last voyage. Having fitted out a single ship, in conjunction with Christopher Guerra, a merchant of Seville, they both sailed to the coast of Paria. Though their discoveries were unimportant;

1 Robertson, i. book ii. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 80. Europ. Settlements, i. 46. Belknap, Disc. on Discovery of America, p. 115. This name is supposed to have been first given to the New World by the publication of Vespucci's account of his Voyage; but at what time is not certain. For a refutation of his claim to the honour of discovering the continent of the New World, see Robertson, i. Note xxii. Herrera and all the earliest and best Spanish historians uniformly ascribe this honour to Columbus. Herrera, i. 214. Herrera says, that Americus Vesputius (so the name is often written), "to make good his false and assumed claim to the discovery of the Continent, suppressed the name of Dragon's Mouth, which Columbus had given to the entrance into a bay near Trinidad;" and that he "confounded the passages of the two voyages," that, made before with Columbus, and this, made with Ojeda, "in order to conceal the Admiral's having discovered the continent." Ibid. 221, 223. But English historians remember, and it ought not to be forgotten, that the CABOTS were the first discoverers of the Continent of America. See A. D. 1497.

yet they carried home such a quantity of gold and pearls, as inflamed their countrymen with desire of engaging in similar enterprizes [1].

The mutineers at Hispaniola not daring to go to Spain, a new contract was made with Roldan, by virtue of which he was reinstated in his former office; and his followers, amounting to one hundred and two, were restored to whatever they had enjoyed before their revolt [2]. In consequence of this agreement, lands were allotted to the mutineers in different parts of the island; and the Indians, settled in each district, were appointed to cultivate a prescribed portion of ground for their new master. This service was substituted for the tribute formerly imposed; and it introduced among the Spaniards the *Repartiamentos*, or distributions of Indians in all their settlements, which subjected that wretched people to the most grievous oppression [3].

1500.

Vincent Yanez Pinzon having, in connexion with Ariez Pinzon, built four caravels, sailed from Palos for America [4]. He stood boldly toward the south, and was the first Spaniard who ventured to cross the equinoctial line [5]. In February he discovered a cape, in eight degrees south latitude, and called it Cabo de Consolation [6]; but it has since been called Cape Augustine [7]. Here he landed, but could obtain no interview with the natives [8]. Sailing northwesterly, he discovered and named the river of the Amazons [9]. Having sailed along the coast to Trinidad, he returned to Spain [10].

1 Robertson, i. book ii. 2 Herrera, i. 211. 3 Robertson, i. book ii.

4 Prince [Chron. *Introd.* 81.] says, he sailed from Palos 13 November, 1499; and Herrera [i. 232.], that he left the Cape Verd islands 13 January, 1500.

5 Robertson, i. book ii. 6 Herrera, i. 231.

7 Purchas, i. 828. Prince, ut supra.

8 P. Martyr, 81—83. Robertson [i. book ii.] says, that Pinzon "seems to have landed on no part of the coast beyond the mouth of the Maragnon, or river of the Amazons." But I rely on P. Martyr, who says, that the Spaniards landed at the Cape; that in the neighbourhood of it 32 of the natives, armed with bows and arrows, came forth to meet them, followed by others, armed in the same manner; that the Spaniards endeavoured to allure them by gifts, but in vain; for, in the dead of night, they fled from the places which they had occupied. "Omnem sermonem rejiciunt, parati semper ad pugnam. Nocte intempesta aufugiunt."

9 Vega [Commentaries of Peru, 339.] says, the Pinzons gave the river this name, "because they observed, that the women fought with as much courage in defence of those parts as the men."

10 Prince, ut supra.

The

The fertile district of country, "on the confines of which Pinzon stopped short," was very soon more fully discovered. Pedro Alvarez Cabral, sent by Emanuel, king of Portugal, with thirteen ships, on a voyage from Lisbon to the East Indies, in order to avoid the calms on the Guinea shore, fetched a compass so far westwardly, as, by accident, to discover land in the tenth degree south of the equinoctial line. Proceeding along the coast several days, he was led from its extent to believe, that it must be a part of some great continent; and, on account of a cross, that he erected there with much ceremony, he called it, The Land of the Holy Cross; but it was afterwards called Brasil [1]. Having taken possession of it for the crown of Portugal, he dispatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this important discovery, and pursued his voyage [2].

The Portuguese king, on receiving the intelligence, sent ships to discover the whole country, and found it to be the land of America. A controversy hence arose between him and the king of Spain; but they being kinsmen and near friends, it was ultimately agreed, that the king of Portugal should hold all the country that he had discovered, which was from the river of Maragnon, or Amazons, to the river of Plate [3].

The implacable enemies of Columbus renewing their complaints against him, the king and queen of Spain sent Bovadilla as a judge, with power to enquire into his conduct; and with authority, if he should find the accusations proved, to send him into Spain, and to remain himself, as governor. Bovadilla, on his arrival at Hispaniola, thoroughly executed his commission. He assumed the government of the colony, and sent Columbus home in chains [4].

Portugal,

1 From a certain wood, which dies red, a name previously to this period known to the Arabians. Forster's Voyages, 263.

2 Herrera, i. 235. Purchas, i. 835. Robertson, i. book ii. Forster, 263. Prince, *Introd.* 81. Biblioth. Americana, p. 50.

3 Purchas, v. 1437.

4 Life of Columbus, c. lxxxv, lxxxvi. Herrera, i. 235—243. Belknap, Disc. on Discovery of America, 115. The captain of the vessel, in which Columbus sailed, touched with respect for his years and merit, offered to take off the irons; but he did not allow it. "Since the king has commanded, that I should obey his governor, he shall find me as obedient to this, as I have been to all his other orders. Nothing, but his commands shall release me. If twelve years hardship and fatigue; if continual dangers, and frequent famine; if the ocean, first opened, and five times passed and repassed, to add a new world, abounding with wealth, to the Spanish monarchy; and if an infirm and premature old age, brought on by those services, deserve these chains as a reward; it is very fit I

Portugal, at that time still in her glory, disregarding the donation made by the Pope, and the compromise for half the world, to which she had reluctantly agreed, viewed all the discoveries, made by Spain in the New World, as so many encroachments on her own rights and property. Under the influence of his national jealousy, Caspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese, of respectable family, inspired with the resolution of discovering new countries, and a new route to India, sailed from Lisbon, with two ships [1], at his own cost. In the course of his navigation, he arrived at Newfoundland, at a bay, which he named Conception Bay; explored the whole eastern coast of the island; and proceeded to the mouth of the great river of Canada. He afterwards discovered a land, which he, at first, named Terra Verde, but which, in remembrance of the discoverer, was afterwards called Terra de Cortereal. That part of it, which, being on the south side of the fiftieth degree of north latitude, he judged to be fit for cultivation, he named Terra de Labrador. Returning, and communicating the news of his discovery to his native country, he hastened back, to visit the coast of Labrador, and to go to India through the straights of Anian, which he imagined he had just discovered. Nothing, however, was afterward heard of him. It is presumed that he was either murdered by the Esquimaux savages, or perished among the ice. On this disastrous event, a brother of Cortereal undertook the same voyage, with two ships; but probably met with a similar fate; for he was heard of no more [2].

1501.

Roderigo de Bastidas, in partnership with John de la Cosa, fitted out two ships from Cadiz. Sailing toward the western continent, he arrived on the coast of Paria; and, proceeding to the west, discovered all the coast of the province, since known by the name of Terra Firma, from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Darien [3].

Not long after, Ojeda, with his former associate Amerigo Vespucci, set out on a second voyage, and, being unacquainted with the destination of Bastidas, held the same

should wear them to Spain, and keep them by me as memorials to the end of my life." Europ. Settlements, i. 43—45. He accordingly kept them until his death. "I always saw those irons in his room," says his son Ferdinand, "which he ordered to be buried with his body." Life of Columbus, c. lxxxvi. Herrera, i. 242.

1 Herrera [i. 314.] says, they were Caravels.

2 Forster, Voy. 460, 461. Harris, Voy. i. 270. Venegas California, i. 118.

3 Robertson, i. 199. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 81. Harris, Voy. i. 270; but Galvano, cited by Harris, puts this voyage in 1502.

course,

course, and touched at the same places. These voyages tended to increase the ardour of discovery [1].

1502.

Columbus exhibited so many charges at the court of Spain against Bovadilla, demanding justice at the same time for the injuries which he had done him, that their Catholic majesties resolved to send another governor to Hispaniola. Nicholas de Ovando, knight of the order of Alcantara, being appointed to this office, he sailed on the thirteenth of February for America, with thirty-two ships, in which two thousand five hundred persons embarked, with the intention of settling in the country. This was the most respectable armament, hitherto fitted out for the New World. On the arrival of this new governor, Bovadilla, whose imprudent administration threatened the settlement with ruin, resigned his charge; and was commanded to return instantly to Spain, to answer for his conduct [2]. Ovando was particularly charged by the queen, that the Indians of Hispaniola should be free from servitude, and protected, like the subjects of Spain; and that they should be carefully instructed in the Christian faith. By command of their majesties, both Spaniards and Indians were to pay tythes; none were to live in the Indies, but natives of Castile; none to go on discoveries, without leave from their highnesses; no Jews, Moors, nor new converts, to be tolerated in the Indies, and all, that had been taken from the admiral and his brothers, was to be restored to them [3].

In the large fleet, that now arrived, came over ten Franciscan Friers; and these were the first ecclesiastics of that order, who came to settle in the Indies [4].

Columbus, acquitted at the court of Spain, with the promise of restitution and reward, required but few incentives to engage once more in discoveries. His ambition was, to arrive at the East Indies; and thus to surround the globe. On this prospect, he was fitted out in May on his fourth and last voyage, under the royal patronage, with a fleet of four vessels, carrying one hundred and forty men and boys, among whom were his brother Bartholomew, and his son Ferdinand, the

1 Robertson, i. book ii. Josselyn, Voyages, 230. In Bibliotheca Americana is preserved the following title of a book: "Americi Vesputii Navigatio tertia a Lisbonæ portu cum tribus Conservantinæ navibus ad Novum Orbem ulterius detegendum, die Maii decima, 1501."

2 Herrera, i. 247—253. Robertson, i. 188, 189.

3 Herrera, 248, 250.

4 Ibid. i. 249.

writer of his life 1. In twenty-one days after his departure from Cadiz he arrived at Dominica; and in twenty-six at Hispaniola. Soon after his arrival at this island, apprehending an approaching storm, he advised a fleet, then ready for sea, not to leave the port; but his advice was disregarded. The fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, within forty hours after its departure was overaken by a terrible tempest; and of the whole number of vessels, three or four only were saved. Among those, that were lost, was the ship in which was Bovadilla, the governor, who had sent Columbus, in a tyrannical and scandalous manner, to Spain 2. Roldan and the greater part of the enemies of Columbus were swallowed up at the same time, with the immense wealth which they had unjustly acquired. The fate of the Indian king of Magua, now also lost, was less horrible, than the outrage, that preceded it. He had offered to till the ground, to the extent of fifty miles for the Spaniards, if they would spare him and his people from the mines. A Spanish captain, in return for this generous proposal, ravished his wife; and the unhappy king, who secreted himself, was taken and sent on board the fleet, to be carried to Spain 3.

After the storm Columbus sailed to the continent, and discovered the Bay of Honduras 4, where he landed; then proceeded along the main shore to Cape Gracias a Dios; and thence to the isthmus of Darien, where he hoped, but in vain, to find a passage to the South Sea 5. At the isthmus he found a harbour, which he entered on the second of November; and, on account of its beauty and security, called it Porto Bello 6. Porto

1 Life of Columbus, c. lxxxvii, lxxxviii. P. Martyr, 102, 206; but he says, here were 170 men: "cum hominibus centum septuaginta." Herrera, i. 252. Belknap, Biog. i. 116, 117.

2 Life of Columbus, c. lxxxviii. Europ. Settlements, i. chap. vii. Belknap, Biog. i. 116. Herrera [i. 253.] says, the fleet consisted of 31 ships; the Author of Europ. Settlements says, it consisted of 20, and that 16 perished. I have followed Ferdinand Columbus. On board the ship, in which Bovadilla perished, was a mass of gold, estimated at 3310 pesos, which was designed as a present to the Spanish king and queen. P. Martyr ascribes the loss of the ship partly to the weight of the gold: "præ nimio gentium et auri pondere, summersa interiit" De Nov. Orb. 101. Purchas remarks, this is "a fit emblem for Christians, who, when they will lade themselves with this thick clay, drown the soule in destruction and perdition." Pilgrims, i. 925.

3 Purchas, i. 913.

4 Columbus called it, The Port of Casinas. Herrera, iii. 366.

5 Herrera, ibid. Robertson, i. 203, 206. Prince, *Introd.* 82. Belknap, Biog. i. 118.

6 Herrera, i. 269. Life of Columbus, c. xcii. It was probably from personal observation, that Ferdinand Columbus drew this description: "The country about that harbour, higher up, is not very rough, but tilled, and full

Porto de la Plata, or the Haven of Silver, thirty-five leagues north of St. Domingo, was built this year by Ovando [1].

Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol, with two other gentlemen, obtained letters patent from Henry VII. for the establishment of colonies in the countries newly discovered by Cabot. Whether they ever availed themselves of this permission, and made any voyages to the New World, neither their contemporaries, nor subsequent writers, inform us [2]. On this charter of licence, Anderson observes, that king Henry pays no regard to the imaginary line of division made between Spain and Portugal by the Pope's authority; and that, according to his genius and former practice, he does not pretend to give one penny toward the enterprize. "It therefore," he subjoins, "succeeded no better than Cabot's voyage; for private adventurers rarely have abilities and patience sufficient to perfect such undertakings, unless supported by the public [3]."

1503.

Columbus, leaving Porto Bello, entered the river Yebra on the ninth of January. The beauty and fertility of the adjacent country invited him to begin a plantation. Remaining at Yebra, he sent his brother Bartholomew with sixty-eight men in boats to the river Veraguay, whence they proceeded to the river Duraba. Finding abundance of gold here, it was concluded to establish a settlement. The Spaniards actually began to erect houses; but their insolence and rapacity incensed the natives, who falling upon them, killed several of their number, and obliged them to relinquish the design [4]. These Indians were a more hardy race, than those of the islands; and this was the first repulse, sustained by the Spaniards. But for this adverse occurrence, Columbus would have had the honour of planting the first colony on the continent of America. Leaving this hostile region, he now sailed

full of houses, a stone's throw or a bow shot one from the other; and it looks like the finest landscape a man can imagine." A water spout near Porto Bello 13 December excited great alarm among the Spaniards. The same writer remarks: "If they had not dissolved it by saying the Gospel of St John, it had certainly sunk whatsoever it fell upon." Ibid.

1 Univ. Hist. xli. 518. This haven was formerly reckoned the second place of consequence in Hispaniola; but in 1763 it was a mere fishing village. Ibid.

2 Forster, Voy. 289, 431. This commission, in the orginal Latin, is in Hazard, Coll. i. 11—19.

3 Hist. Commerce, ii. 7.

4 P. Martyr, 214, 215. "Figere ibi pedem fuit consilium: sed incolæ futuram perniciem olfacientes vetuerunt. Facto agmine, cum horrendo clamore ruunt in nostros, qui domus ædificare jam cæperant." Ibid.

for Hispaniola; but by the violence of a storm was obliged to run his ships ashore at Jamaica. In his distress at this island, he sent some of the hardiest of his men to Hispaniola, to represent his calamitous situation to the governor, and to solicit vessels to carry him and his people away. He remained however at Jamaica eight months, without the least intelligence from his messengers, or assistance from the governor. The natives becoming exasperated at the delay of the Spaniards, the burden of whose support was intolerable, the inventive genius of Columbus had recourse to an admirable device, to regain his authority. Assembling the principal Indians around him, he caused them to understand, that the God, whom he served, provoked at their refusal to support the objects of his favourite regard, intended to inflict on them a speedy and severe judgement, of which they would soon see manifest tokens in the heavens; for on that night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as an omen of their approaching destruction. His menacing prediction was ridiculed; but its actual accomplishment, at the precise time foretold, struck the barbarians with terror. This eclipse of the moon, which he had happily foreseen by his skill in astronomy, established his character, as a prophet. The affrighted Indians brought him instantly a plenty of provisions; they fell at his feet, and besought him in the most suppliant manner, to intercede with the great Spirit, to avert the threatened calamity. Apparently moved by their entreaties, he consoled them; but charged them to atone for their past transgression by their future generosity. The eclipse went off; and from that day the natives were superstitiously cautious of giving offence to the Spaniards [1].

1504.

When the fortitude and skill of Columbus had been tried to the utmost extent, in repressing the mutinies of his own people, and the violence of the Indians; a ship, generously fitted out by a private person at Hispaniola, arrived at Jamaica, and carried him to St. Domingo. Convinced, that a dispute with a governor, in his own jurisdiction, could bring him little advantage or honour, he hastened his preparation for returning to Spain [2].

On the second of September he sailed from Hispaniola. Having encountered the most terrible storms in the voyage, and sailed after losing his mainmast seven hundred leagues, he

1 Life of Columbus, c. xcv—ciii. Herrera, i. 294, 296. Purchas, i. 731. Robertson, i. book ii. Belknap, Biog. i. 118, 119.

2 Life of Columbus, xciv.—cv. Europ. Settlements, i. 55—60. Univ. Hist. xli. 347. Belknap, Disc. on Discovery of America, 115.

with

with difficulty reached the port of St. Lucar. Here, to his inexpressible grief, he learnt that his friend and patronness, queen Isabella, was dead 1. She had steadily favoured and supported while the Catholic king had opposed and injured him. The value of the Indies becoming daily more apparent, and also the largeness of the share, that must fall to the admiral by virtue of the stipulated articles, it had been the selfish policy of Ferdinand to fix the absolute dominion in himself, and to dispose of all the employments, which belonged to the admiral, according to his own pleasure 2. The conduct of Isabella was more just and generous, as became the greatness of her character. This illustrious woman, "was no less eminent for virtue, than for wisdom; and whether we consider her behaviour as a queen, as a wife, or as a mother, she is justly entitled to the high encomiums bestowed on her by the Spanish historians 3."

Bastidas, with the leave of king Ferdinand, went with two ships, to discover that part of Terra Firma, where lay Carthagena 4. Landing on the island Codego 5, he took six hundred of the natives; proceeded to the Gulf of Uraba; and returned to St. Domingo, laden with slaves 6.

Some adventurous navigators from Biscay, Bretagne, and Normandy, in France, came this year in small vessels, to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and these were the first French vessels, that appeared on the coasts of North America 7.

1505.

The Indians of Hispaniola having made several attempts to recover their liberty, the Spaniards considered their conduct as rebellious, and took arms to reduce them to subjection.

1 Life of Columbus, c. cxviii. Europ. Settlements, i. 60. Belknap, Disc. on Discovery of America, 115.

2 Life of Columbus, c. cviii.

3 Robertson's Charles V. ii. book i. p. 6. "The Spaniards," says Mezeray, "lift her above all other Heroines." *Hist. France*, 542.

4 This name had been given to that port by Columbus, on account of its resemblance to a port of that name in Spain. P. Martyr, 105.

5 It lay near the port; and this was the Indian name. "Insulam vocant incolæ Codego." Ibid. 6 Harris, Voy. i. 270.

7 Anderson, Hist. Commerce, ii. 9. Brit. Emp. in America, *Introd.* xlvi. Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* CANADA. This fishery appears to have been immediately productive. The French account is: "Dès 1504, les Basques, les Bretons, et les Normands, utiles et audacieux navigateurs, se hasardoient avec de foibles barques sur le banc de Terreneuve, et nourrissoient une partie de la France du fruit de leur pêche." Ibid. These fishermen are said to have discovered at this time the Grand Bank of Newfoundland. Ibid. Commerce, *Art.* COMMUNAUTE DE BIENS.

They

They made war against the cazique of Higuey [1], who, after signalizing himself in defence of his countrymen, was ignominiously hung. Anacoana, the female cazique of Xaraguay [2], being accused at this time of a design to exterminate the Spaniards, Ovando, the Spanish governor, under pretence of making her a respectful visit, marched toward Xaraguay with three hundred foot and seventy horsemen. She received him with every token of honour, and feasted him several days. Amidst this security, the Spaniards, at a preconcerted signal, drew their swords, and rushed on the defenceless and astonished Indians. Their princess was instantly secured. Her attendants were seized and bound, and left to perish in the flames of the house, where they were assembled, which was set on fire. Anacoana was carried in chains to St. Domingo, where, after the formality of a trial, she was condemned to be hanged. This atrocious conduct toward the Haytin princess completely humbled the natives, who, in all the provinces of Hispaniola, now submitted, without farther resistance, to the Spanish yoke [3].

1506.

Columbus, exhausted by age, fatigues, and disappointments, died at Valladolid in Spain on the twentieth of May, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was buried in the cathedral of Seville. "He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety, becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of life [4]." On

1 A province at the eastern extremity of the island. Robertson.

2 This province extended from the fertile plain, where Leogane is now situated, to the western extremity of the island. Anacoana, its highly respected sovereign, had been uniformly friendly to the Spaniards. Her accusers were some of the adherents of Roldan, who had settled in her country, and were exasperated with her for endeavouring to restrain their excesses. Robertson.

3 Robertson, i. book iii. B. de las Casas Relation, p. 14. Casas says, that after this unjust war ended, with such a destruction and massacre, the Spaniards, having reserved few beside the women and children, divided these among themselves; some keeping 30, others 40, others 100, some 200, according to the interest they had with the tyrant [governor] of the Island. Ibid. 16.

4 Robertson, i. book ii. Columbus was tall of stature, long visaged, of a majestic aspect, his nose hooked, his eyes grey, of a clear complexion, somewhat ruddy, his beard and hair, when young, fair, though through many hardships they soon turned grey. He was witty and pleasant, well spoken and eloquent, moderately grave, affable to strangers, to his own family mild. His conversation was discreet, which gained him the affection

On his tomb is this Spanish inscription: A CASTILLA Y A LEON, NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON; in English, "To Castile and Leon Columbus gave a New World [1]."

Some slips of the sugar cane were now brought from the Canary islands and planted in Hispaniola, where they were found to thrive so well, as soon to become an object of commerce [2].

Jean Denys, a Frenchman, sailed with his pilot Camart, a native of Rouen, from Honfleur to Newfoundland, and drew a map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and of the coast of the adjacent country [3].

1507.

Ferdinand, King of Spain, established a Board of Trade, composed of persons, eminent for rank and abilities, to which he committed the administration of American affairs [4].

Pursuant to bulls of the Pope, Father Garcia de Padilla was nominated the first bishop of St. Domingo. Their Catholic majesties ordered the Cathedral church of that city to be magnificently built at their own expence [5].

The inhabitants of Hispaniola, computed to have been, when Columbus discovered the island, at least one million, were now reduced to sixty thousand [6].

The natives of the Lucayo islands, to the number of twelve

tion of those he had to deal with; and his presence attracted respect, having an air of authority and grandeur. He was always temperate in eating and drinking, and modest in his dress. He understood Latin, and composed verses. In religion he was very zealous and devout. He was a man of undaunted courage, high thoughts, and fond of great enterprizes. Herrera, who gives this description and character of Columbus [i. 311, 312,] adds, "Had he performed such a wonderful enterprize in the ancient days, as the discovery of a New World, it is likely that he would not only have had statues, and even temples, erected to his honour, but that some star would have been dedicated to him, as was done to Hercules and Bacchus."

1 Life of Columbus, c. cviii. Belknap, Biog. i. 123.

2 Robertson, i. book iii. Anderson, ii. 13.

3 Forster, Voy. 431, 432. Conduite des François, Note 9. Anderson, Hist. Com. ii. 9. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 406; the Authors of which suppose, that Cabot's discovery of Canada thus early attracted the attention of the French.

4 Robertson, i. 226. The Spanish name of this court was *Casa de Contratación*. In Robertson, iii. 264, this establishment is, by a typographical error probably, put in 1501.

5 Herrera, i. 318, where are particular instructions to the Prelates on ecclesiastical affairs.

6 Robertson, i. 217. An author, cited by Purchas [i. 914,] says, that in three or four months, while he was in a certain town in one of the West India islands, 6000 children died for the want of their parents, who were sent to the mines. See B. de las Casas, Relat. p. 23.

hundred

hundred thousand, wasted in the mines of Hispaniola and Cuba, or by diseases and famine, had previously become extinct [1].

1508.

Juan Diaz de Solis and Vincent Yanez Pinzon sailed from Seville, with two caravels, to the coast of Brasil, and went to the thirty-fifth degree south latitude, where they found the grand river Paranaguazu, which they called Rio de Plata, or River of Silver [2]. Proceeding to the fortieth degree, they erected crosses wherever they landed, took formal possession, and returned to Spain. In this voyage they discovered an extensive province, known afterward by the name of Yucatan [3].

Sebastian de Ocampo by command of Ovando sailed around Cuba, and first discovered with certainty, that this country, which Columbus once supposed to be a part of the continent, is a large island [4].

The gold carried from Hispaniola in one year, about this time, amounted to four hundred and sixty thousand pieces of eight. Cotton, sugar, and ginger, now also became considerable articles of exportation from the West Indies to Spain [5].

The Spaniards, finding the miserable natives not so robust and equal to the labour of the mines and fields, as negroes brought from Africa, began about the same time to import negroes into Hispaniola from the Portuguese settlements on the Guinea coast [6].

1 Purchas, i. 904. The Spaniards, understanding to be the opinion of the Lucayans, that departed souls, after certain expiations on cold northern mountains, would pass to a southern region, persuaded them to believe that they had come from that place, where they might see their departed parents and children, acquaintance and friends, and enjoy every delight. Thus seduced, they went with the Spaniards to Hispaniola and Cuba. But, when they discovered that they had been deceived; that they had come to dark mines, instead of Elysian fields; that they should not find any one of their parents or friends, but be compelled to submit to a severe government, and to unwonted and cruel labours; abandoned to despair, they either killed themselves, or, obstinately rejecting food, they breathed out their languid spirits. P. Martyr, 481. "Quando vero se deceptos fuisse conspexerunt, nec parentibus aut optatorum cuiquam occurrerent, sed gravia imperia et insuetos ac sævos labores subire cogerentur, in desperationem versi, aut seipsos necabant, aut electa inedia languidos emittebant spiritus, nulla ratione aut vi persuasi, ut cibum sumere vellent. Ita miseris Lucais est finis impositus."

2 Though it now first received this name, it was previously discovered by the Portuguese. See A. D. 1500.

3 Herrera, i. 333. Life of Columbus, c. lxxxix. Robertson, i. 230.

4 Robertson, i. 231.

5 Anderson, Hist. Commerce, ii. 15.

6 Ibid. Robertson [i. 278] says, a few negro slaves were sent to America in the year 1508.

A hurri-

A hurricane demolished all the houses in St. Domingo, and destroyed upward of twenty vessels in the harbour 1.

Thomas Aubert, a shipmaster, made a voyage from Dieppe to Newfoundland; and, proceeding thence to the river of St. Lawrence, was the first who sailed up this great river to the country of Canada. On his return he carried over to Paris some of the natives 2.

1509.

Don Diego, son of Christopher Columbus, now succeeding Ovando in the government of Hispaniola 3, repaired to the island, accompanied by his wife, his brother and uncles, and a numerous retinue of both sexes, many of whom were married here, and the island began to be populated. He placed a lieutenant over the island of Cuba 4. Agreeably to instruction from the king, he settled a colony in Cubagua, where large fortunes were soon acquired by the fishery of pearls 5.

Alonso de Ojeda, having sailed from Hispaniola with a ship and two brigantines, carrying three hundred soldiers, to settle the continent, landed at Carthagena; but was beaten off by the natives. While he began a settlement at St. Sebastian 6, on the east side of the gulf of Darien, Diego Nicuessa with six vessels and seven hundred and eighty men began another at Nombre de Dios, on the west side 7. Both however were soon broken up by the natives 8.

1 Purchas, i. 910.

2 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 406. British Emp. *Introd.* xlvi. Anderson, Hist. Commerce, ii. 15. Forster [432] says, he made this voyage in a ship called the Pensée, belonging to his father, Jean Ango, Viscount of Dieppe.

3 For two years after the death of Columbus, this son had made incessant, but fruitless application to king Ferdinand for the offices and rights to which he was legally entitled. He at last commenced a suit against the king before the Council of the Indies, and obtained a decree, in confirmation of his claim of the viceroyalty, with all the other privileges, stipulated in the capitulation with his father. Robertson, i. book iii.

4 Harris, Voy. i. 271. Robertson, i. book iii.

5 Robertson, i. book iii.

6 Harris [i. 271.] from Galvano, calls it a fort, and says, it was the first built by the Spaniards in Terra Firma.

7 Nicuessa obliged all his men, whether sick or well, to work on his fort, and they died at their labour. The 780 men, whom he brought from Hispaniola, were soon reduced to 100. Herrera, i. 359.

8 Herrera, Ibid. Harris, Voy. i. 271. Robertson [i. b. iii.] says, that these Indians were fierce and warlike; that their arrows were dipped in a poison so noxious, that every wound was followed with certain death; that in one encounter they slew above 70 of Ojeda's followers; and that the Spaniards, for the first time, were taught to dread the inhabitants of the New World.

The

1510.

The greater part of those, who had engaged with Ojeda and Nicuessa in the expedition for settling the continent having perished in less than a year, a few who survived now settled, as a feeble colony, at Santa Maria on the gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nunez de Balboa 1.

Juan Ponce de Leon, who had commanded in the eastern district of Hispaniola, under Ovando, now effected a settlement, by his permission, on Puerto Rico. Within a few years this island was subjected to the Spanish government; and the natives, treated with rigour, and worn out with fatigue and sufferings, soon became extinct 2.

John de Esquibel sailed from Hispaniola, and began a settlement at Jamaica 3.

1511.

Don Diego Columbus proposing to conquer the island of Cuba, and to establish a colony there, many persons of distinction in Hispaniola engaged in the measure. Three hundred men, destined for the service, were put under the command of Diego Velasquez 4, who, with this considerable number of troops, conquered the island, without the loss of a man, and annexed it to the Spanish monarchy 5.

Hispaniola was not completely subdued until this year 6.

1 Robertson, book iii. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 83.

2 Herrera, i. 369. Robertson, i. book iii. This island was discovered by Columbus in his second voyage. Juan Ponce passed over to it in 1508, and penetrated into the interior part of the country. Ibid. B. de las Casas [p. 4.] says, that above 30 islands, near this, were in like manner entirely depopulated.

3 Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 83.

4 He accompanied Christopher Columbus in his second voyage. Rob.

5 Robertson, i. 241. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 83. The island is about 700 miles long, and at that time had two or three hundred houses, with several families in each, as was usual in Hispaniola. Hatuay, a rich and potent cazique, who, to avoid slavery or death, had fled from Hispaniola to Cuba, was taken in the interior part of this island, and carried to Velasquez, who condemned him to the flames. When he was fastened to the stake, a Franciscan frier, labouring to convert him, promised him immediate admittance to the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the Christian faith; and threatened him with eternal torment, if he should continue obstinate in his unbelief. The cazique asked, if there were any Spaniards in that region of bliss, that he described. On being told, there were; "I will not go," said he, "to a place where I may meet with one of that accursed race." B. de las Casas, 20, 21. Robertson, i. book iii.

6 Univ. Hist. xli. 467.

Two

Two bishops were now constituted here, one at St. Domingo, and another at the Conception. Three bishopricks had been previously erected in the island, but no bishops had been sent to them [1].

Ferdinand established the Council of the Indies, in which was vested the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America [2]. He now permitted the importation of negroes, in greater numbers, than before, into his American colonies [3].

1512.

Juan Ponce-de Leon, sailing northwardly from Puerto Rico with three ships, discovered the continent in thirty degrees eight minutes north latitude, and called it Florida [4]. Having gone ashore, and taken possession, he returned to Puerto Rico through the channel, afterward known by the name of the Gulf of Florida, and discovered the Bahama Islands [5].

1513.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a Spaniard, employed in the conquest of Darien and the Gulf of Uraba [6], having travelled across the isthmus of Darien with two hundred and ninety men [7], from the top of a high mountain on the western side of the continent discovered an ocean, which, from the direction in which he saw it, took the name of the South Sea. Falling on his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he gave thanks to God for being the first discoverer. Having proceeded with his followers to the shore, he advanced up to his middle in the water with his sword and buckler, and took possession of

1 Herrera, i. 375.

2 Robertson, iii. book viii. This, or a similar council, was in being some years before, for we have already met with one of its decrees. See A. D. 1509. Note 8.

3 Robertson i. book iii.

4 "Because," says Purchas, [i. 769] "it was first discovered by the Spaniards on Palm Sunday, or on Easter day, which they call Pasqua Florida [de Flores. *Herrera*]; and not, as Thevot writeth, for the flourishing verdure thereof." P. Martyr [301] agrees with Purchas: "Floridam appellavit, quia resurrectionis festo repererit. Vocat Hispanus Pascha floridum resurrectionis diem."

5 Herrera, ii. 33, 34. Harris, Voy. i. 271. Univ. Hist. xl. 378. Brit. Emp. iii. 208. Robertson, i. 243. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 83. Encyclop. Methodique, Histoire, *Art.* CABOT; and Geog. *Art.* FLORIDE. Purchas, i. 769.

6 Venagas California, i. 119.

7 Harris, Voy. 271.

this

this ocean in the name of the king his master, vowing to defend it with those arms against all his enemies. In token of possession he erected piles of stones on the shore [2].

Peter de Cordova, a Dominican Frier, having obtained leave of the king, now went over from Spain to the continent of America, with other friers of his order, to preach to the Indians at Cumana [3].

Ferdinand issued a decree of his privy council, declaring, that the servitude of the Indians is warranted both by the laws of God and man; and that, unless they were subjected to the dominion of the Spaniards, and compelled to reside under their inspection, it would be impossible to reclaim them from idolatry, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith [4].

1514.

Vasco Nunez having sent the king of Spain an account of his discovery of the South Sea, and of what he had heard of Peru, acquainting him at the same time, that it would require a thousand men to effect that conquest [5]; his majesty ordered Pedro Arias d' Avila to embark for America as governor of Darien [6]. He accordingly sailed from St. Lucar with fifteen vessels and fifteen hundred men; and, by his tyranny and exactions after his arrival, all the country, from the gulf of Darien to the lake of Nicaragua was desolated [7].

1 Herrera, ii. 53. P. Martyr, 178. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 83. Robertson, i. 251. Forster, Voy. 263.

2 P. Martyr, 182. This author says, that the Indians opposed his passage over the mountains; that they fled at the discharge of the Spanish guns; that the Spaniards, pursuing them, cut them in pieces; that 600 of them, together with their prince, were destroyed like brute beasts; and that Vasco ordered about 50 to be torn to pieces by dogs. "Canum opera," adds the historian, "nostri utuntur in prœliis contra nudas eas gentes: ad quas rabidi infiliunt, haud secus ac in feros apros aut fugaces cervos." Ibid. 180, 181. Vasco returned in February, 1514, to Darien, without the loss of one man in any of his numerous actions with the natives. Ibid. 205.

3 Herrera, ii. 43. 4 Robertson, i. 166. 5 Herrera, ii. 68.

6 He was the fourth governor of "Golden Castile," as the countries of Darien, Carthagena, and Uraba were now denominated. Harris, Voy. i. 271. F. John de Quevedo, a Franciscan frier, came over with him, as bishop of Darien, accompanied with several ecclesiastics of that order. Herrera, ii. 69.

7 Herrera, ii. 68, 69. Robertson, i. 257. B. de las Casas [23—26] says, that this "merciless governor," ran through above 50 leagues of the finest country in the world, and carried desolation with him wherever he went; that before his arrival there were many villages, towns, and cities, which excelled those of all the neighbouring countries; that this country abounded in gold, more than any that had yet been discovered; that the Spaniards in a little time carried away above three millions out of this kingdom; and that here above 800,000 people were slaughtered.

A dis-

A dissention not long after arose between Vasco Nunez and Arias. Vasco, charged with calumny against the government, was sent for by the governor, and put in chains; and, after some formalities of a trial, condemned, and beheaded 1.

Puerto Rico, the chief town on the island of this name, was founded, and John Ponce de Leon appointed its governor 2.

1515.

Gasper Morales, sent by Pedro Arias d'Avila, marched from Darien across the land to the South Sea; and discovered the Pearl Islands in the bay of St. Michael, in five degrees north latitude 3.

John Arias began to people Panama on the South Sea, and discovered two hundred and fifty leagues on the coast, to eight degrees thirty minutes north latitude 4.

Gonsales Ferdinandus Oviedas discovered the islands of Bermudas 5, twelve degrees north of Hispaniola.

1516.

Juan Diaz de Solis, at that time reputed the ablest navigator in the world 6, was appointed by the king of Spain to command two ships, fitted out to discover a passage to the Molucca or Spice Islands by the west, and to open a communication with them 7. Having sailed the proceeding October, he entered the Rio de Plata in January 8. In attempting a descent in the country

1 P. Martyr, 320. Herrera, ii. 128. Robertson, i. 250, 251.

2 Univ. Hist. xli. 520. Encyclop. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* JUAN DE PUERTO RICO.

3 Harris, Voy. i. 271. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 83.

4 Prince, ibid. 84.

5 Ibid, from Purchas. Many authors ascribe this discovery to John Bermudez, a Spaniard, in 1522.

6 Herrera, ii. 79. 7 Robertson, i. book iii.

8 Ibid. On the authority of Purchas I had concluded, that the Portuguese first discovered the river de La Plata about A. D. 1500 [See p. 28, note 2.]; but, on a careful inspection of Hakluyt and Purchas, I am led to believe, that the honour of that discovery may belong to Juan Diaz de Solis, in 1508. Hakluyt's account, taken from the same MS*. which Purchas afterwards more completely published, says, that Don Emanuel, on hearing the news of Cabral's discovery in the west, "sent *presently* shippes to discover the whole countrey, and found it to be a part of America." But it does not satisfactorily appear, that these ships went so far south as La Plata. A controversy arising between the kings of Portugal and Spain,

* "*A Discourse of the West Indies and the South Sea, written by Lopez Vaz, Portugal.*"

country [1] about this river, De Solis and several of his crew were slain by the natives, who, in sight of the ships, cut their bodies in pieces, roasted, and devoured them. Discouraged by the loss of their commander, and terrified by this shocking spectacle, the surviving Spaniards sailed to the Cape St. Augustin, where they loaded with Brasil wood, and set sail for Europe, without aiming at any farther discovery [2].

Sir Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert with two ships, fitted out by some merchants of Bristol [3], visited the coast of Brasil, and touched at the islands of Hispaniola and Puerto Rico. Although this voyage seems not to have been beneficial to the adventurers, yet it extended the sphere of English navigation, and added to the stock of nautical knowledge [4].

Bartholomew de las Casas [5], having undertaken to protect the American Indians, went for this purpose from St. Domingo

"they agreed *in the end*, that the king of Portugal should holde all the country that he had discovered, the which was (as I have said) from the river of Marannon to the river of La Plate; albeit the Spaniards affirme, that it stretcheth no farther than the island of Santa Catalina." The ultimate agreement of the two kings may have been subsequent to the discovery of Solis, and to the prejudice of his honour, and of the Spanish interest. The same Portuguese writer, whose account is published by Hakluyt and Purchas, allows, that "the first Spaniard, who entered this river and inhabited the same, was called Solis."

See Hakluyt, iii. 786—788, and Purchas, v. 1437.

1 This was probably some part of Paraguay, the discovery of which is ascribed to Solis in Encyclop. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* PARAGUAY; though its full discovery is justly to be ascribed to S. Cabot in 1526.

2 Herrera, ii. 81. Robertson, i. book iii.

3 Robertson, book ix; but from one account in Hakluyt [iii. 499.] it is probable they "were set foorth by the king;" and in another [ibid. 498] it is affirmed, that the king furnished and sent them out.

4 Hakluyt, i. 512, 515, 516; iii. 498, 499; where there are accounts of this voyage. Chron. *Introd.* 84. Robertson, book ix. 22. Josselyn, New Eng. Rarities, 103, and Voyages, 231. Bibliotheca Americana, 52. Some historians take no notice of this voyage, or confound it with a voyage made in the service of Spain in 1526. P. Martyr [De Orb. Nov. 233.] mentions Sebastian Cabot, as being with him in Spain in 1515, and expecting to go on a voyage of discovery the following year. "Familiarem habeo domi Cabbottum ipsum, et contubernalem interdum; expectatque in dies ut navigia sibi parentur. Martio mense anni futuri M.D.XVI. puto ad explorandum discessurum." But he does not determine, either from what port Cabot was to sail, or by whom he was to be employed. It is probable, that he refers to preparations, expected to be made for him *in England*, whence the accounts in Hakluyt prove him to have sailed. "The faint heart" of Sir Thomas Pert is affirmed to have been "the cause that the voyage took none effect."

5 He was a native of Seville, and with other clergymen accompanied Columbus in his second voyage to Hispaniola, in order to settle in that island. The design of this benevolent ecclesiastic was, to obtain ascendency over the Indians of South America without force, by the preaching of

mingo to Spain. The Catholic king being dead [1], Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who had entered on the administration of the government for the young king Charles, sent three friers, of the order of St. Jerome, for the chief management of affairs in the West Indies; but the negociations of Las Casas were deferred until the arrival of the new king, who was daily expected from the Low Countries [2].

1517.

A Flemish favourite of Charles V. having obtained of this king a patent, containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand negroes into America, sold it for twenty-five thousand ducats to some Genoese merchants, who first brought into a regular form the commerce for slaves between Africa and America [3].

Francis Hernandez Cordova sailed from Havanna [4] on the eighth of February, with three caravels and one hundred and ten men, on a voyage of discovery. The first land, that he saw, was cape Catoche [5], the eastern point of that large peninsula, on the confines of the Mexican coast, to which the Spaniards gave the name of Yucatan [6]. As he advanced toward the shore, he was visited by five canoes, full of Indians, decently clad in cotton garments [7]; a spectacle astonishing to the Spaniards, who had found every other part of America possessed by naked savages. He landed in various places; but being assailed by the natives, armed with arrows, he left the coast. Continuing his course toward the west, he arrived at

of the Dominican and Franciscan friers; and he possessed all the courage, the talents, and activity, requisite in supporting such a desperate cause. Herrera, ii. 169. Robertson, i. book iii.

1 Ferdinand died in 1516. By marrying, in 1649, Isabella of Castile, the sister of Henry IV. he annexed the crown of Castile, of which Isabella was heiress, to the throne of Arragon. Encyc. Methodique, Histoire, *Art.* FERDINAND. See p. 6, note 6, of these Annals.

2 Herrera, ii. 101. Robertson, i. book iii.

3 Robertson, i. 279.

4 This port is called in the language of Cuba, Agaruco; B. Diaz. i. 8; in that of Spain, La Havana. Purchas, v. 1415.

5 B. Diaz del Castillo, who was with Cordova in this expedition, says, [i. 5.] an Indian chief, who came with 12 canoes to the Spanish vessels, made signals to the captain, that he would bring them to land, saying, "Con-Escotoch, Con-Escotoch," which signifies, "Come to our town," whence the Spaniards named it Punta de Catoche.

6 De Solis had previously seen this coast. See A. D. 1508.

7 The women of this place were remarkably delicate. "Fœminæ à cingulo ad talum induuntur, velaminabusque diversis caput & pectora tegunt, & pudice cavent ne crus, aut pes illis visatur." P. Martyr, 290.

Campeachy [1]. At the mouth of a river, some leagues to the northward of that place, having landed his troops, to protect his sailors while filling their water casks, the natives rushed on them with such fury, that forty-seven Spaniards were killed on the spot, and one man only escaped unhurt. Cordova, though wounded in twelve places, directed a retreat with great presence of mind, and his men, with much difficulty regaining the ships, hastened back to Cuba, where, ten days after their arrival, Cordova died of his wounds [2].

The cod fishery on the banks of Newfoundland had already attracted the attention of several European nations; for fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese ships were employed in it this year [3].

1518.

Don Diego Velasquez, governor of Cuba, encouraged by the account that he received from those who went on the expedition with Cordova, now fitted out a second armament. Juan de Grijalva, to whom he gave the principal command of the enterprize, sailed on the fifth of April from St. Jago de Cuba, with four ships and two hundred Spanish soldiers, to Yucatan; discovered the southern coast of the bay of Mexico to Panuco toward Florida; and first called the country New Spain [4]. In this voyage he discovered the island of Cozumel; also an island, which he called the Island of Sacrifices [5]; and another,

1 The Indians called the place *Quimpech*, whence the name of Campeachy. Herrera, ii. 113.

2 Purchas, i. 783. P. Martyr, 289, 290. Herrera, iii. 113—117. B. Diaz, i. chap. i. Robertson, i. book iii. Univ. Hist. xli. 468.

3 Anderson, Hist. Commerce, ii. 34. That respectable author says, this is the first account we have of that fishery. But he allows, that French vessels came on the coast of Newfoundland as early as 1504; and the French writers are probably correct in affirming, that they came *that year* to fish. A. D. 1504.—If Hakluyt's conjecture be right, we are indebted to Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot for the above information respecting the Newfoundland fishery. He supposes that Oviedo, a Spanish historian, alludes to their voyage [See A. D. 1516.] when he says, "That in the year 1517, an English rover under the colour of travelling to discover, came with a great ship unto the partes of Brasill on the coast of the Firme Land, and from thence he crossed over unto this island of Hispaniola," &c. This English ship, according to Anderson, had been at Newfoundland, and reported at Hispaniola the above statement of its fishery. See Hakluyt, i. 516, and iii. 499.

4 Herrera, ii. 120. Purchas, i. 783, 812, 813. B. Diaz, i. chap. ii. De Solis, i. 20—32. Robertson, i. 297. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 84. Encyclop. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* MEXIQUE.

5 "Because, going in to view a house of lime and stone, which overlooked the rest, they found several idols of a horrible figure, and a more hor-

another, which he called St. Juan de Ulua [1]; and heard of the rich and extensive empire of Montezuma [2].

Francis Garay, governor of Jamaica, having obtained from the bishop of Burgos the government of the country about the river Panuco, sent an armament of three ships with two hundred and forty soldiers, under the command of Alvarez Pinedo, who sailed to Cape Florida, in twenty-five degrees north latitude, and discovered five hundred leagues westward on the northern coast of the bay of Mexico to the river Panuco, in twenty-three degrees north latitude, at the bottom of the bay [3]. This armament however was defeated by the Indians of Panuco, and one ship only escaped [4].

1519.

Velasquez, anxious to prosecute the advantages, presented to his view by the expedition of Grijalva, having provided ten ships at the port of St. Jago, appointed Hernando Cortes [5] commander of the armament. Cortes sailed from Cuba with eleven ships, and five hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers, and landed first at the island of Cozumel [6]. On the thirteenth of March he arrived with the whole armament at the river of Tabasco or Grijalva. Disembarking his troops about half a league from the town of Tabasco, he found the borders of the river filled with canoes of armed Indians. Perceiving them determined on hostilities, he prepared to attack the town, in

horrible worship paid to them; for near the steps where they were placed were the carcases of six or seven men newly sacrificed, cut to pieces, and their entrails laid open." De Solis, i. 29.

1 "A little island, of more sand than soil; and which lay so low, that sometimes it was covered by the sea. But from these humble beginnings, it became the most frequented and celebrated port of New Spain, on that side, which is bounded by the North Sea." Ibid.

2 Ibid. 28.

3 Harris, Voy. i. 271. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 84.

4 B. Diaz, ii. 162. This ship, says Diaz, "joined us at Villa Rica."

5 He was a native of Medellin in Estremadura. He possessed an estate in the island of Cuba; where he had been twice alcalde. B. Diaz, i. 35. The Authors of the Universal History [xli. 468] say, that Grijalva, finding that the coast of New Spain furnished abundance of gold, and that the inland country was immensely rich, formed a scheme for subduing this great monarchy, and imparted it to Cortes. This may be true; but all the best historians agree in ascribing the first movements of Cortes, in this celebrated expedition, to Velasquez.

6 B. Diaz [i. 47, 48] says, at a review of the troops of this island, they amounted to 508, the mariners (of whom there were 109) not included; and subjoins, "We had 16 cavalry, 11 ships, 13 musketeers, 10 brass field pieces, 4 falconets, and (as well as I recollect) 32 cross bows, with plenty of ammunition."

which above twelve thousand warriors had already assembled. The Indians, observing this preparation, assailed his troops in prodigious numbers; but were driven back by the Spaniards, who, having effected a landing, entered the town 1; and Cortes took formal possession of the country for the king of Spain 2. The next day he marched out with his troops to a plain, where he was met by an immense body of Indians, who, falling furiously on the Spaniards, wounded above seventy by the first discharge of their weapons. The Spanish artillery did great execution; but when the cavalry came to the charge, the Indians, imagining the horse and rider to be one, were extremely terrified, and fled to the adjacent woods and marshes, leaving the field to the Spaniards 3.

Cortes next sailed to St. Juan de Ulua, where he disembarked his troops, and constructed temporary barracks. At this place he received ambassadors from Montezuma, king of Mexico, with rich presents; and a message, expressing the readiness of that sovereign to render the Spaniards any services, but his entire disinclination to receive any visits at his court. After repeated and mutual messages and gifts, Montezuma caused his ambassadors to declare, that he would not consent, that foreign troops should appear nearer his capital, nor even allow them to continue longer in his dominions 4. "Truly this is a great monarch and rich," said Cortes; "with the permission of God, we must see him." The bell tolling for Ave Maria at this moment, and all the Spaniards falling on their knees before the cross, the Mexican noblemen were very inquisitive to know what was meant by this ceremony. Father Bartholome de Olmedo 5, on the suggestion of Cortes, explained to them the Christian doctrines; and they promised to relate all, that they had seen and heard, to their sovereign.

1 Tobacco is said to have been first discovered by the Spaniards near this place, though it is assigned to the next year: "Cette plante [Tabac] acre en caustique trouvée, en 1520, près de Tabasco dans le golfe du Mexique." Précis sur l'Amerique, p. 116.

2 Drawing his sword, he gave three cuts with it into a great ceiba tree, which stood in the area of a large enclosed court, and said, that against any who denied his majesty's claim, he was ready to defend and maintain it with the sword and shield, which he then held. B. Diaz, i. 61.

3 B. Diaz, i. 57—66. De Solis, i. 80—87. P. Martyr [308] gives a very lively description of this action: "Miraculo perculsi miseri hæsitabant, neque exercendi tela locus dabatur. Idem animal arbitrabantur hominum equo annexum, uti de Centauris exorta est fabella." A town was afterward founded on the spot where this battle was fought, and named Santa Maria de la Vitoria. B. Diaz, i. 67.

4 Robertson, ii. book v.

5 He was chaplain to the expedition, and not less respectable for wisdom than virtue. Robertson.

He

He at the same time declared to them, that the principal design of the mission of the Spaniards was, to abolish the practice of human sacrifices, injustice, and idolatrous worship [1].

While at St. Juan de Ulua, the lord of Zempoalla sent five ambassadors to solicit the friendship of Cortes, who readily agreed to a friendly correspondence [2]. Cortes now incorporated a town, and named it Villa Rica de Vera Cruz, designing, however, to settle it at another place [3]. In the first council, holden after this incorporation, Cortes renounced the title of captain general, which he had holden from Diego Velasquez, and the town and people elected him to the same office [4]. The council of Vera Cruz now wrote to the king of Spain, giving an account of their new town, and beseeching him, that he would grant Cortes a commission of captain general in confirmation of that, which he now held from the town and troops, without any dependence on Diego Velasquez. Cortes having written at the same time to the king, giving him assurance of his hopes of bringing the Mexican empire to the obedience of his majesty, sent dispatches by one of his ships to Spain, with a rich present to king Charles [5]. This present partly consisted of articles of gold and silver, received from Montezuma; and those were the first specimens of these metals, sent to Spain, from Mexico [6]. Four Indian chiefs, with two female attendants, now went voluntarily to Spain [7].

Cortes had some time since received the ultimate order of Montezuma to depart instantly out of his dominions [8]; but that mandate, like the former messages, being preposterously accompanied with a present, served merely to inflame desires, already kindled, and to renew the request of an audience. Intent on his design, he first marched through Zempoalla to Chiahuitzla, about forty miles to the northward of St. Juan de Ulua, and there settled the town of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz, and put it in a posture of defence [9]. Determined to

1 B. Diaz, i. 84, 85. De Solis, i. 122.
2 De Solis, i. 129, 130.
3 Ibid. 131, 132.
4 B. Diaz, i. 91. De Solis, i. chap. vii.
5 De Solis, i. 168, 169.
6 Clavigero, i. 425, 426.
7 P. Martyr, 311.
8 Robertson, ii. book v.
9 "Till then it moved with the army, though observing its proper distinctions as a republic." De Solis, i. 152. It was now settled on the plain between the sea and Chiahuitzla, half a league from that town [ibid.] and 200 miles south-east of the city of Mexico. It has since become a city remarkable for the great traffic carried on between the opulent countries of Spanish America and Old Spain. European Settlements, i. 75.

conquer, or to die, he now completely destroyed his fleet, and commenced his march toward Mexico [1]. Having passed, unmolested, through several Indian towns, which, through the influence of Zempoalla and Chiahuitzla, were previously in the friendly confederacy, he, with extreme difficulty, passed an abrupt and craggy mountain, and entered the province of Zocothlan. Here he received information of Tlascala, and resolved to pass through that province on his way to Mexico. Approaching nigh to its confines, he sent four Zempoallans, of great eminence, as envoys, to obtain a passage through the country. The messengers being detained, Cortes proceeded in his march, and first successfully engaged five thousand Tlascalan Indians, who were in ambush; and afterward the whole power of their republic. The Tlascalans, after suffering great slaughter in repeated assaults on the Spaniards, concluded a treaty, in which they yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend the persons and possessions of its inhabitants from injury or violence; and now entered its capital without molestation [2].

Taking with him several thousand of his new allies, he renewed his march [3]; and, after having forced his way through the most formidable opposition, and eluded various stratagems [4], formed by Montezuma to obstruct his progress, he arrived at Iztapalapan [5], six miles distant from Mexico, and made a dis-

1 De Solis, 172, 177. He took with him 500 men, 15 horse, and 6 field pieces; and left the rest of his troops, as a garrison, in Villa Rica. The lord of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and 200 of those Indians, called *Tamemes*, whose office was to carry burdens and perform all servile labour. Robertson, ii book v.

2 Robertson, ii. book v. De Solis, i. 178—230. B. Diaz, i. chap. vi. "We entered the territory of Tlascala," says B. Diaz, "24 days before our arrival at the chief city, which was on the 23d of September, 1519."

3 He had remained about 20 days in Tlascala, to receive the homage of the principal towns of the republic, and of their confederates. De Solis. Authors differ in respect to the number of Tlascalans, that Cortes took with him. B. Diaz says 2000; Herrera, 3000; Cortes himself says 6000. De Solis, i. 264.

4 At Cholula in particular, a large city, 5 leagues distant from Tlascala, and 20 from Mexico, a plot for the destruction of the Spaniards being discovered, Cortes directed his troops and allies to fall on the inhabitants, 6000 of whom were killed without the loss of a single Spaniard. Robertson, ii. book v. Clavigero, ii. 52.

5 A large and beautiful city, which contained at that time more than 12000, houses, and was situated towards the point of a peninsula, from which a paved causeway, 8 yards wide, extended, without varying the least

a disposition for an entrance into that great city 1. Meanwhile Montezuma, baffled in all his schemes for keeping the Spaniards at a distance, found Cortes almost at the gates of his capital, before he was resolved, whether to receive him as a friend, or to oppose him as an enemy 2. The next day Cortes marched his army, consisting of about four hundred and fifty Spaniards and six thousand confederate Indians, along the grand causeway, which extended in a straight line to the city of Mexico. It was crowded with people, as were also all the towers, temples, and causeways, in every part of the lake, attracted to behold such men and animals, as they had never before seen 3. To the Spaniards every thing appeared wonderful. The objects, great in themselves, were probably magnified in their view by contrast with their own weakness, and by perpetual apprehension of meeting a desperate enemy in a monarch, the extent of whose power was incalculable. As the Spaniards advanced, beside numerous towns, seen at a distance on the lake, they discovered the great city of Mexico, "elevated to a vast degree above all the rest, and carrying an air of dominion in the pride of her buildings 4." When they drew near the city, a great number of the lords of the court came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes, and clad in mantles of fine cotton; and announced the approach of Montezuma. Soon after appeared two hundred persons, in a uniform dress, marching two and two in deep silence, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. Next followed a company of higher rank, in showy apparel, in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a most magnificent litter, borne by his principal nobility. When Cortes was told, that the great Montezuma approached, he dismounted, and respectfully advanced toward him. Montezuma at the same time alighted, and, supported by some of his chief princes, approached with a slow and stately pace, in a superb dress, his attendants covering the streets with cotton cloths, that he might not touch the ground. After mutual salutations, Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters 5,

least from a right line, to the southern gate of the great temple in Mexico. Clavigero, ii. 62, 65. B. Diaz, i. 188. Clavigero says, this causeway extended more than 7 miles; but the temple to which it led was about a mile and a half within the city of Mexico. Ibid.

1 De Solis, i. 296.

2 Robertson, ii. book v.

3 B. Diaz, i. 188, 189.

4 De Solis, i. 299.

5 A palace, built by king Axajacatl, the father of Montezuma: which was so large, as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their allies, who together with their attendant women and servants exceeded 7000. Clavigero, ii. 65.

which

which he had prepared in the city for his reception, and immediately took leave of him, with the most courtly expressions of hospitality and respect. Cortes took instant precaution for security. He planted the artillery so, as to command the different avenues, that led to the place; appointed a large division of his troops to be always on guard; and posted sentinels at proper stations, with injunctions to observe the same vigilant discipline, as if they were in sight of an enemy's camp [1].

Cortes, knowing that his safety depended on the will of a monarch, in whom he had no right to confide, determined, with unexampled temerity, to seize Montezuma in his own palace, and bring him, as a prisoner, to the Spanish quarters. Having properly posted his troops, he took five of his prime officers and as many soldiers, thirty chosen men following at a distance, as if without any other object but curiosity, and, at the usual hour of visiting Montezuma, went directly to the palace, where they were admitted without suspicion [2]. An assault, lately made on the garrison at Vera Cruz, and a treacherous attempt against the Spaniards at Cholula on their march toward Mexico, were made the pretext for a charge against Montezuma. Satisfaction was demanded of the astonished sovereign, who endeavoured to explain and exculpate. Nothing satisfied. It was expected, that he would go to the Spanish quarters, as an evidence of his confidence and attachment. On his resenting this indignity, an altercation of three hours succeeded, when an impetuous young Spaniard proposing instantly to seize him, or stab him to the heart, the intimidated monarch abandoned himself to his destiny. Consenting to accompany the Spaniards, he called his officers and communicated to them his resolution. Though astonished and afflicted, they presumed not to dispute his will, but carried him "in silent pomp, all bathed in tears," to the Spanish quarters. The principal persons concerned in the assault at Vera Cruz, who had been sent for by Montezuma himself, having been tried by a Spanish court martial, were burnt alive. Cortes, convinced that they would not have ventured to make the attack without orders from their master, put Montezuma in fetters during their execution; a monitory sign, that the measure of his humiliation and of his woes was nearly full. During six months, in which the Spaniards remained in Mexico, he continued in their quarters, attended by his officers, with the external appearance and the ancient forms of government,

1 Robertson, ii. book v. B. Diaz, i. chap. viii. De Solis, i. 209—210. Clavigero, ii. 63—66.

2 This was eight days after the arrival of the Spaniards at Mexico. B. Diaz.

but

but in personal subjection to a foreign and intrusive power. By the persuasion of Cortes, Montezuma acknowledged himself a vassal of the king of Castile, to hold his crown of him, as superior, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute [1]. He now firmly expressed his desires and expectations, that Cortes, having finished his embassy, would take his departure [2].

1520.

At this juncture a fleet and army, sent against Cortes, by Velasquez, under the command of Pamphilo de Narvaez, made a fruitless attempt to reduce the Spaniards of Vera Cruz. Cortes, having made overtures of peace, that were rejected by Narvaez, departed from Mexico, leaving a part of his forces in that city under Alvarado, and marched to Zempoalla, where he attacked Narvaez in his quarters, obtained the victory, and obliged his troops to serve under his banner. Receiving intelligence, that the Mexicans had taken up arms against the Spaniards, whom he left with Montezuma, he now marched back, strongly reinforced, to Mexico [3].

Alvarado, it appears, in the apprehension of danger from the Mexicans, who were enraged at the detention of their sovereign, had fallen on them while they were dancing at a festival in honour of their gods, and mutual hostilities had succeeded. Cortes, on his arrival at Mexico, assumed a haughty air and indignant tone, both toward the captive king and his people. Irritated afresh, the Mexicans fell furiously on a party of Spaniards in the streets, and attacked their quarters, at the same moment. Early the next morning the Spaniards, sallying out with their whole force, were met by the whole force of the Mexicans; and after an action, fought with mutual desperation, were compelled to retreat to their quarters. Having spent one day in making preparations, a hundred Spaniards at day break sallied out again, and, amidst showers of arrows,

1 Robertson, ii. book v. Montezuma accompanied this profession of fealty and homage with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and his subjects followed the example. The Spaniards now collected all the treasure, which they had acquired by gift or violence: and having melted the gold and silver, the value of these, without including jewels and various ornaments, of curious workmanship, amounted to 600,000 pesos. Robertson, ii. book v. B. Diaz, [i. 248.] says, upwards of 60,000 crowns.

2 Robertson, ii. book v. De Solis, i. book iii.

3 Robertson, ii. book v. Clavigero says, that 140 soldiers, with all their allies, had been left in Mexico; that Cortes now returned to that city with an army of 1300 Spanish infantry, 96 horses, and 2000 Tlascalans: and that his combined forces amounted to 9000 men. Hist. Mex. ii. 96, 101, 102. They marched into Mexico 24 June. Ibid.

made

made their way to the great temple, in the upper area of which five hundred nobles had fortified themselves, and were doing essential injury with stones and arrows [1]. After making three attempts to ascend the temple, and as often receiving a vigorous repulse, Cortes, though suffering from a severe wound in his left hand, joined the assailants in person, and tying his shield to his arm, began to ascend the stairs with a great part of his men. Their passage was obstinately disputed; but they at last gained the upper area, where a terrible engagement, of three hours, ensued. "Every man of us," says Bernal Diaz, "was covered with blood;" and forty-six Spaniards were left dead on the spot [2]. Cortes, ordering the temple to be set on fire, returned in good order to his quarters.

The violence of hostilities still continuing, and the situation of the Spaniards soon becoming absolutely desperate, Cortes applied to Montezuma by a message, to address his subjects from a terrace, and request them to desist from their attacks, with an offer from the Spaniards to evacuate Mexico. The captive monarch, standing at the failing of the terraced roof, attended by many of the Spanish soldiers, affectionately addressed the people below him, to that purpose. The chiefs and nobility, when they saw their sovereign coming forward, called to their troops to stop, and be silent. Four of them, approaching still nearer to him, addressed him with great sympathy and respect; but told him, that they had promised their gods, never to desist, but with the total destruction of the Spaniards. A shower of arrows and stones now fell about the spot where Montezuma stood; but he was protected by the Spaniards, who interposed their shields. At the instant of removing their shields, that Montezuma might resume his address, three stones and an arrow struck him to the ground. He was carried to his apartment; where he died, in a few days [3],

1 Their station was "so very high and neighbouring," that it entirely commanded the Spanish quarters. Clavigero, ii. 107, 108. Robertson represents this action, at the temple, as after the death of Montezuna: but I follow Clavigero, who followed Cortes.

2 B. Diaz, i. 310. Not one of the poor Mexicans, engaged in the action survived it. Inflamed by the exhortations of their priests, and fighting in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods, and in view of their wives and children, they contemned death. Part of them died by the point of the sword, and part threw themselves down to the lower floors of the temple, where they continued to fight until they were all killed. Robertson, ii. book v. Clavigero, ii. 108. B. Diaz [i. 311.] says, while the Spaniards were setting fire to the temple, above 3000 noble Mexicans with their priests attacked them with great violence, which caused them to retreat.

3 B. Diaz, i. 257—314. Clavigero, ii. 103—112. Robertson, ii. book v. De Solis, ii. book iv. chap. xiii—xv.

"less

"less of his wound, which was but inconsiderable, than of sorrow and indignation [1]."

The Mexicans now most violently attacked the Spaniards, who, making another sally in return, had twenty soldiers slain. Death being before their eyes in every direction, the Spaniards determined to leave the city during the night. On the first of July [2], a little before midnight, they silently commenced their march, but were soon discovered by the Mexicans, who assailed them on all sides; and it was with great loss, and the utmost hazard of entire destruction, that they effected their retreat. On the sixth day, this maimed and wretched army, pursued by hosts of enraged enemies, was compelled to give them battle near Otompan, toward the confines of the Tlascalan territories. This battle was extremely bloody, and lasted upwards of four hours; but the Spaniards, with their Indian

1 Europ. Settlements, i. chap. xi. Clavigero [ii. 110.] thinks it probable, that he died on the 30th of June. He was in the 54th year of his age. His body was honourably borne out, and delivered to the Mexicans, who received it with strong expressions of sorrow. B. Diaz, i. 315. Clavigero, ii. 110. Of its treatment the accounts are various. P. Martyr [866] stops here. "Corpus humandum civibus tradiderunt nostri. Quid ultra nesciunt." Montezuma was a prince of majestic and graceful presence; of vigorous understanding; of martial genius, and distinguished bravery. He was just, magnificent, and liberal; but his justice often degenerated into cruelty, and his magnificence and liberality were supported by heavy burdens on his subjects. In every thing, pertaining to religion, he was exact and punctual, and was jealous of the worship of his gods, and the observance of rites. Though often zealously urged by Cortes to renounce his false gods, and embrace the Christian faith, he had always rejected the proposal with horror; and to this rejection he inflexibly adhered in the prospect of death. See Clavigero and Robertson. Why did he admit Cortes into his capital, and subject himself to the grossest indignities, when he might unquestionably have expelled, if not annihilated, his army? Antonio De Solis, the Spanish historiographer, is at no loss for a reason: "The very effects of it have since discovered, that God took the reins into his own hand, on purpose to tame that monster; making his unusual gentleness instrumental to the first introduction of the Spaniards, *a beginning from whence afterward resulted the conversion of those heathen nations.*" Conquest Mexico, ii. 141. We ought to adore that Providence, which we cannot comprehend; but it is impious to insult it by assigning such reasons for its measures, as are contradicted by facts. The natural causes of the abject submission of Montezuma may perhaps be traced to a long and traditionary expectation of the subjection of the Mexican empire to a foreign power; to the predictions of soothsayers, with their expositions of recent and present omens; to the forebodings of a superstitious mind; to the astonishment, excited by the view of a new race of men with unknown and surprizing implements of war; and to the extraordinary success of the Spanish arms from the first moment of the arrival of Cortes on the Mexican coast.

2 This disastrous night was called by the Spaniards *Noche triste*; and by this name it is still distinguished in New Spain. Clavigero, ii. 114. Robertson, ii. book v.

aux-

auxiliaries, obtained a decisive victory over the whole power of Mexico; and, proceeding in their march, reached the city of Tlascala, where, in the bosom of their faithful ally, they found entire security [1].

Cortes having subjugated the districts in the vicinity of Tlascala, and as opportunely, as fortuitously, received a fresh succour of men and ammunition [2], marched back toward the coast of Mexico, six months after his disastrous retreat, and made an entry into Tezcuco on the last day the year [3].

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman, on a voyage for the discovery of the Molucca or Spice Islands, in the service of Spain, entered the famous Straits, which bear his name, on the eleventh of November, and on the twenty-eighth of that month, entered the great Southern Ocean, which he called The Pacific [4].

1 Clavigero, ii. 113—120. B. Diaz, 317—333. These authors here disagree in their *dates*; I follow Clavigero, who thus adjusted them after a careful comparison. De Solis, ii. 178—189. Herrera, iii. 74. Robertson, ii. book v. Dr. Robertson [ibid. Note xci.] after examining the various accounts of the Spanish historians, gives it as his opinion, that the loss of the Spaniards, in this retreat from Mexico, cannot well be estimated at less than 600 men. Clavigero [ii. 116.] following the computation of Gomara, inclines to the opinion, that "there fell," on the *sad night*, "beside 450 Spaniards, more than 4000 auxiliaries, and among them, as Cortes says, all the Cholulans; almost all the prisoners, the men and women, who were in the service of the Spaniards, were killed, also 40 horses; and all the riches, they had amassed, all their artillery, and all the manuscripts belonging to Cortes, containing an account of every thing which had happened to the Spaniards until that period, were lost." Many of the Spanish prisoners were inhumanly sacrificed in the great temple of Mexico. Ibid. 120.

2 A merchantman from the Canaries, with fire arms, powder, and warlike provisions, coming to trade at Vera Cruz, the captain, master, and 13 Spanish soldiers, who had come to seek their fortunes, went with Cortes' commissary to the camp, and joined the army. Cortes received some other reinforcements about this time, "beyond all expectation." De Solis, ii. 254, 255. Robertson, ii. book v.

3 Clavigero, ii. 138, 139. Tezcuco was the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the Mexican lake, about twenty miles from Mexico. Robertson, ii. book v.

4 Herrera, iii. 22. Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* Pacifique. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 85. Harris, Voy. i. 12—19, where there is an entire account of this voyage. Magellan sailed from Seville 10 August, 1519, with 5 ships and 234 men; and in December of that year discovered Patagonia. See Herrera, ii. 175, 176. Robertson, ii. 375. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 215. Biblioth. Americana, 52. Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* Magellan. Venegas California, i. 120.

1521.

Cortes, having fixed his quarters at Tezcuco, resolved to make an assault on the city of Iztapalapan [1]. Leaving a garrison, of more than three hundred Spaniards and many allies, under the command of Gonzales de Sandoval, he marched with upwards of two hundred Spaniards, and more than three thousand Tlascalans, with many of the Tezcucan nobility, who were met by some troops of the enemy, that fought them, but retreated. The assailing army, on entering Iztapalapan, and finding it almost entirely evacuated, began in the night to sack the city; and the Tlascalans set fire to the houses. The light of this conflagration discovering to them the water overflowing the canals, and beginning to inundate the city, a retreat was sounded; but so far had the inundation risen, that the Spaniards made their passage back with difficulty; some of the Tlascalans were drowned; and the greatest part of the booty was lost [2]. This disaster was soon compensated by new confederacies, formed with several neighbouring cities by means of their ambassadors [3].

Cortes, who never relinquished the thought of the conquest of Mexico, had taken care to have thirteen brigantines built, while he was at Tlascala, in aid of the great enterprize [4]. These vessels he now caused to be transported by land to Tezcuco. The command of the convoy, consisting of two hundred foot soldiers, fifteen horsemen, and two field pieces, he gave to Sandoval [5]. Eight thousand Tlascalans carried on their

1 This was in revenge for the offences, received from its ancient lord Cuitlahuatzin, whom Cortes knew to be the author of the memorable defeat of the first of July. Clavigero, ii. 142.

2 Clavigero, ii. 142, 143. B. Diaz, ii. 34, 35. The citizens, in order to drown all their enemies, broke the mole of the lake, and entirely deluged the city. Two Spaniards only and one horse were lost; but upwards of 6000 of the hostile natives were slain. Ibid. B. Diaz says [ii. 48.], that he received a wound in his throat, "the marks of which," he adds, "I carry to this day."

3 Ibid.

4 He had obtained of the senate 100 men of burden, for the transportation of the sails, cordage, iron, and other materials of the vessels, which he had unrigged the preceding year, with a view to this very use; and for tar had extracted turpentine from the pines of a neighbouring mountain. The materials were so prepared, that they might be carried in pieces ready to be put together. The first brigantine has built by Martino Lopez, a Spanish soldier, who was an engineer in the army of Cortes. After that model the other twelve were built by the Tlascalans. Clavigero, ii. 185, 186. Robertson.

5 Sandoval had orders to proceed by a place, called by the Spaniards Puebla

their backs the beams, sails, and other materials, necessary for their construction; two thousand were loaded with provisions; and thirty thousand were armed for defence, under the command of three Indian chiefs [1]. After several expeditions into the neighbouring country; a fruitless attempt at a negociation with Mexico; and the suppression of a conspiracy against his own life; Cortes made his final preparation for the siege of Mexico. On the twenty-eighth of April the brigantines were launched into the Mexican lake. Notice of the grand movements was given to the allies, who now poured into Tezcuco, in great numbers, to the aid of the Spaniards. On the twentieth of May Cortes collected his people in the great market place of Tezcuco, and made a disposition of them for the siege. The whole army, destined for this service, consisted of nine hundred and seventeen Spaniards, and more than seventy-five [2] thousand auxiliary troops, which number was soon after increased to more than two hundred thousand [3]. Cortes, resolved to possess himself of the three causeways of Tlacopan, Iztapalapan, and Cojohuacan, divided his army into three bodies, and committed the expedition of Tlacopan to Pedro de Alvarado; that of Cojohuacan to Christopher de Olid; and that of Iztapalapan to Gonzalo de Sandoval. Cortes himself took the command of the brigantines [1]. After several days, spent in various acts of hostility, Cortes, with much difficulty, effected an entrance into the great square of the city; but was so violently assailed by the citizens, that he found it expedient to retreat [4]. Twenty days having

Puebla Moresca, to inflict an exemplary punishment on the inhabitants, who had robbed and put to death 40 Spanish soldiers, who were on their march from Vera Cruz to Mexico, for the relief of Alvarado. In the temples at that place were found many traces of their blood upon the walls; their idols were besmeared with it; "and we found," says B. Diaz, "the skins of two of their faces with their beards, dressed like leather, and hung upon the altars, as were also the shoes of four horses, together with their skins, very well dressed." True Hist. Mex. ii. 40.

1 Clavigero, ii. 146. B. Diaz. ii. 41. Robertson, ii. book v. But these authors differ from each other in their account of the number of armed Indians, that guarded this convoy. I have followed Clavigero. The line of march, according B. Diaz, extended, in some places, above six miles; and the entire materials for 13 brigantines were thus carried over land, through a mountainous country, 60 miles.

2 Clavigero, ii. 160.

3 To Alvarado he assigned 30 horses, 168 foot soldiers, 20,000 Tlascalans, and two pieces of artillery; to Olid, 33 horses, 108 foot soldiers, two pieces of artillery, and more than 25,000 allies; to Sandoval, 24 horses, 168 Spanish infantry, two cannons, and more than 30,000 allies. Among the brigantines he distributed 325 Spaniards, and 13 falconets; assigning to each brigantine a captain, 12 soldiers, and as many rowers. Clavigero, ii. 160.

4 Ibid. 162—167.

passed

passed, during which the Spaniards had made continual entrance into the city, Cortes determined on a general assault. On the appointed day he marched with twenty-five horses, all his infantry, and more than a hundred thousand allies; his brigantines, with more than three thousand canoes, forming the two wings of his army on each side of the causeway. Having entered the city with little opposition, and commenced a most vigorous action, the Mexicans made some resistance, and then feigned a retreat. The Spaniards, pushing forward with emulation to enter the square of the market, unwarily left behind them a broad gap in the causeway, badly filled up; and the priests at this instant blew the horn of the god Painalton [1], when a multitude of Mexicans assembling, and pouring with fury upon the Spaniards and allies, threw them into confusion, and compelled them to retreat precipitately. In attempting to pass the gap, apparently filled up with faggots and other light materials, it sunk with the weight and violence of the multitude; when Spaniards, Tlascalans, horsemen, and infantry, plunged in promiscuously; the Mexicans at the same moment rushing upon them fiercely on every side. A tremendous conflict ensued. Cortes, who had come to the ditch, in aid of his defeated troops, was at length bringing them off, when he was seized by six chiefs, who had cautiously taken him alive, "to honour their gods with the sacrifice of so illustrious a victim," and were already leading him away for this purpose. His men, apprized of his capture, flew to his aid; and Christoval de Olea, cutting off with one stroke of his sword the arm of a Mexican, who held him, and killing four of the enemy, liberated his general, at the expence of his own life. Other soldiers arriving to the assistance of Cortes they took him out of the water in their arms, and placing him on a horse, hurried him off from the crowd of his enemies [2].

Various

1 This horn was reserved for times of extreme danger, to excite the people to arms. Clavigero.

2 B. Diaz, ii. 98—100. Clavigero, ii. 172—176. The loss, sustained by the besiegers on that day, was seven horses, a number of arms and boats, and a piece of artillery, upwards of 1000 allies, and more than 60 Spaniards, some of whom were killed in battle, but 40 were taken alive, and immediately sacrificed in the great temple of Mexico. The Mexicans celebrated their victory eight successive days with illuminations and music in their temples. Ibid. and Robertson, ii. book v. This celebration appears to have commenced at the instant of victory. "Before we arrived at our quarters," says B. Diaz, "and while the enemy were pursuing us, we heard their shrill timbals, and the dismal sound of the great drum, from the top of the principal temple of the god of war, which overlooked the whole city. Its mournful noise was such as may be imagined the music of the infernal gods, and it might be heard at the distance of almost

Various acts of mutual and bloody hostility succeeded by land and on the Mexican lake. Quauhtemotzin, the king of Mexico, though reduced to the greatest distress, still obstinately refusing to surrender, on repeated proposals of terms more honourable and indulgent, than, in such an extremity, he might perhaps have possibly expected [1]; Cortes began with most of his forces to attack some ditches and intrenchments; and Sandoval with another division attacked the city in the quarter of the north. Terrible was the havoc made this day among the Mexicans, more than forty thousand of whom, it is affirmed, were slain [2]. The stench of the unburied carcases obliged the besiegers to withdraw from the city; but the next day they returned, to make the last assault on that district of it, which was yet in possession of the Mexicans [3]. All the three divisions of the troops, having penetrated into the great square in the centre of the city, made the attack at once, and pressed so hard on the feeble, exhausted citizens, that, finding no place of refuge, many threw themselves into the water, and some surrendered themselves to the conquerors. The Mexicans having previously prepared vessels, to save themselves by flight from the fury of the enemy, one of them, carrying the royal personages, escaped; but it was soon overtaken by a Spanish brigantine, and surrendered. "I am your prisoner," said Quauhtemotzin, the Mexican king,

three leagues. They were then sacrificing the hearts of ten of our companions to their idols." "Every quarter of the city," says the descriptive Robertson, "was illuminated; the great temple shone with such peculiar splendor, that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the preparations for the death of the prisoners. Through the gloom they fancied that they discerned their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were stript naked, and compelled to dance before the image of the god, to whom they were to be offered."

1 In addition to the daily loss of incredible numbers in action, famine began to consume the Mexicans within the city. The brigantines, having the entire command of the lake, rendered it almost impossible to convey to the besieged any provisions by water. By means of the vast number of Indian auxiliaries, Cortes had shut up the avenues to the city by land. The stores, laid up by Quauhtemotzin, were exhausted. The complicated sufferings of this devoted people brought on infectious and mortal distempers, "the last calamity, that visits besieged cities, and which filled up the measure of their woes." Robertson, ii. book v. P. Martyr, de Orb. Nov. 408.

2 Clavigero, ii. 187, 188. On no day was so much Mexican blood spilt. "The wretched citizens having now neither arms to repel the multitude and fury of their enemies, strength to defend themselves, nor space to fight upon; the ground of the city was covered with dead bodies, and the water of every ditch and canal purpled with blood." Ibid.

3 Three-fourths of the city were already reduced, and laid in ruins. Robertson.

to

to the Spanish captain; "I have no favour to ask, but that you will show the queen my wife, and her attendants, the respect due to their sex and rank." When conducted to Cortes he appeared neither with the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a suppliant. "I have done what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," continued he, laying his hand on one, which Cortes wore at his side, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life, which can no longer be of use [1]." Cortes now ordered, that all the Mexicans should leave the city without arms or baggage; and for three days and three nights all the three roads, leading from the city, were seen "full of men, women, and children, feeble, emaciated, and dirty, who went to recover in other parts" of the Mexican territory [2]. The fate of the capital decided the

1 Robertson, ii. book v. B. Diaz, ii. 122. Clavigero, ut supra. P. Martyr, 409. "En ferrum quo me potes et debes jugulare, exosum et molestum mihi jam erit vivere." But he was reserved for a more cruel destiny. Quauhtemotzin was the eleventh and last king of Mexico. He succeeded Cuitlahuatzin, a brother of Montezuma, formerly prince of Iztapalapan, who was elected king, on the death of Montezuma; but, after a reign of three or four months, died of the small pox. This disease, totally unknown before in the New World, was brought to the Mexican country by a Moorish slave, belonging to Narvaez. He infected the Chempoallese, and thence the infection spread through all the Mexican empire, where many thousands perished, and some places were entirely depopulated. [Clavigero, i. 445; ii. 133.] No brother of the two last kings surviving, the Mexicans chose Quauhtemotzin, a nephew of those kings, then about 23 years of age. His name is commonly written *Guatimozin*, or *Guatimotzin*. But in the article of language, and in some other particulars, I give preference to the authority of the Abbé Clavigero, who was a native of Vera Cruz; resided nearly 40 years in the provinces of New Spain; and acquired the language of the Mexicans. Quauhtemotzin was in a few days put ignominiously to the torture, by the burning of his feet slowly after they were anointed with oil, that he might declare where the immense riches of the court and temple were deposited; and about three years after [1525] was hanged, together with the kings of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, on account of some suspicious circumstances in their conduct. This most unjust and cruel act was blamed by all, and "occasioned some watchings and melancholy to Cortes." Clavigero, ii. 193. B. Diaz, ii. 283, 284. Robertson, ii. book v.

2 Mexico contained at this time 600,000 houses. [Clavigero, ii. 72,] There were at this city, during the siege, 200,000 confederate Indians, 900 Spanish foot, 80 horse, 17 pieces of small cannon, 13 brigantines, and 6000 canoes. [Herrera, iii. 179, 180. Purchas, i. 788.] The siege lasted 75 days, during which time there were 60 dangerous battles; some thousands of allies perished; more than 100 Spaniards were killed and sacrificed; and, according to the best computation, more than 100,000 Mexicans were slain, beside upward of 50,000, who died by famine and sickness. "The city appeared one complete ruin." Clavigero, ii. 192, 193, 242. Herrera, iii. 110, 179. Robertson, ii. book v. Harris, Voy. i. 772.

fate of the empire, which was soon after entirely reduced under the dominion of Spain 1.

Bartholomew de las Casas, having obtained a commission from the king of Spain to make a peaceable religious settlement at Cumana, with orders that ships and seamen be provided for him at the royal charge 2, now arrived there with three hundred artificers, "all wearing crosses." Gonzalo de Ocampo not allowing him to execute his commission without directions from the governor of Hispaniola, Las Casas went to that island, to obtain the governor's sanction. Gonzalo going there also from New Toledo, followed by many of the inhabitants, and some of the new colonists incautiously trading along the coast, contrary to the express orders of Las Casas; the natives, seizing this opportunity, demolished the houses at Cumana; burned the monastery; and killed all the golden knights, and others, remaining there, excepting a few, who escaped in a small vessel. Not one Spaniard was now left alive, from the gulf of Paria to the borders of Darien 3.

Panama was constituted a city, with the proper privileges, by Charles V. 4.

1522.

The emperor of Spain appointed Cortes captain general and governor of New Spain; and certain commissioners to receive and administer the royal revenue there, with independent jurisdiction 5.

1 Clavigero, ii. book x. B. Diaz, ii. 124—126. Robertson, ii. book v. Nothing was wanted, but a good cause, to render this conquest one of the most illustrious achievements, recorded in ancient or modern history. But, while we admire the action, as great, we condemn it, as criminal. The sanguinary customs of the Mexicans were indeed abolished by the introduction of European principles and manners. But at what expence? The victors, in one year of merciless massacre, sacrificed more human victims to avarice and ambition, than the Indians, during the existence of their empire, devoted to their gods. The forms of justice were established. But by what means? The Indian princes were despoiled of their territory and tributes, tortured for gold, and their posterity enslaved. The Christian Religion was introduced. But in what manner, and with what effect? "Her mild parental voice," to use the words of Clavigero, "was suborned to terrify confounded savages; and her gentle arm in violence lifted up to raze their temples and hospitable habitations, to ruin every fond relic and revered monument of their ancestry and origin, and divorce them in anguish from the bosom of their country." *For a farther account of Mexico, See Note II, at the end of this volume.*

2 Vega, 662.

3 Herrera, iii. 181, 182. Vega, 662, 663. Robertson, i. book iii.

4 Universal History, xxxix. 158.

5 Herrera, iii. 323. Robertson, ii. book v.

Villa

Villa del Spiritu Santo, in the province of Guascaca in New Spain, was built by Gonzales de Sandoval [1].

Newfoundland, settled by different nations, is said to have contained at this period fifty houses [2].

1523.

Cortes with three hundred foot and one hundred and fifty horse, conquered Panuco. On the river Chila he built a town, called Santo Stephano del Puerto, and left in it a hundred foot, and thirty horse [3]. He now rebuilt the city of Mexico, on the model of the European towns, dividing the ground among the conquerors. The Spanish Quarter was now begun with twelve hundred inhabitants [4]. Alvarado, sent from Mexico with three hundred foot, seventy horse, and four field pieces, to discover and conquer Quahutemallan, and other towns toward the South Sea, discovered and subdued all that country; and built the city, called St. Jago Quahutemallan. Gonzales d'Avila discovered and peopled a place in the bottom of Ascension Bay, in fourteen degrees north latitude, and called the town Gil de buena Vista [5].

Baron de Lery formed the first project in France for obtaining a settlement in America [6].

1524.

John Verrazzano, a Florentine, having been sent out the preceding year by Francis I. of France, with four ships, to prosecute discoveries in the northern parts of America, now coasted from the twenty-eighth to the fiftieth degree north latitude [7]. In this voyage he discovered, with a considerable degree

1 Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* Villa del Spiritu Santo.

2 Ibid. *Art.* Terre Neuve.

3 Herrera, iii. 278. Harris, Voy. i. 272.

4 Herrera, iii. 279, 280. Venegas, California, i. 133. The city was ultimately built with 100,000 houses, "fairer and stronger than before." Purchas, i. 788.

5 Harris, Voy. i. 272.

6 Minot, Hist. Massachusetts, i. 126. The French Annotator on an English work entitled, "The Conduct of the French with respect to Nova Scotia," [note 4, p. 20.] says, the settlement of Lery was projected in 1518: "Dès 1518, le Baron de Lery & de Saint Just, avoit entrepris de former une habitation sur les côtes de l'Amérique sententrionale." I prefer a known to a dubious authority. The Annotator [p. 10] also says, Lery and St. Just landed cattle on the Isle of Sable. Charlevoix does not mention either in his Fastes Chronologiques.

7 Hakluyt, iii. 295—300, where is Verrazzano's own account of his

degree of accuracy, the coast of Florida [1]. The whole extent of his discovery was upwards of seven hundred leagues of the North American coast [2], which he named New France [3]. He made another voyage the next year; but he and his crew were lost by some unknown dissaster [4]; and neither the king, nor the nation, thought any more of America for several succeeding years [5].

Historians remark, that it is to the great honour of Italy, that the three Powers, which at this day possess almost all America, owe their first discoveries to the Italians: Spain, to Columbus, a Genoese; England, to the Cabots, Venetians;

voyage, that he sent to the king. Universal History, xxxix. 406. Forster, Voy. 432—436. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 86. Belknap, Biog. i. 33. Harris, Voy. i. 810. Brit. Emp. Introd. xlvi. and i. 163. Some historians fix these discoveries in the years 1523, 1524, 1525. It appears, that Verrazzano was sent out by the French king in 1523; that he at first cruized with success against the Spaniards; that he at length sailed with one of his four ships on a voyage of discovery; that he "departed from the dishabited rocke by the isle of Madeira the 17th of January, the yeere 1524;" and that he made another voyage in 1525, with the design of settling a colony, but was heard of no more. Forster supposes, that in his voyage of 1524 he first arrived off that part of the American coast, where the town of Savannah now stands; "a new land," says Verrazzano, "never before seene of aay man either ancient or moderne." Having sailed thence to the southward as far as to the 30th deg. north lat. it appears, that he then sailed northwardly to the 34th deg. and thence still northwardly, until he found the coast "trend toward the east;" that here he attempted to send his boat ashore, but was prevented by the roughness of the sea*; that proceeding to the eastward, he found a well cultivated island †, and a little beyond it a good harbour, in which were more than 20 canoes, belonging to the natives; that he proceeded still northwardly to 50 deg. along the coast of the country; and that then, on account of the failure of his provisions, he sailed directly to France. Purchas [i. 769] says Verrazzano rather sought to discover all along the coast, than to search or settle within land.

1 Chalmers, i. 512.

2 Hakluyt.

3 Belknap.

4 Some authors say, they were massacred and eaten by the savages. Charlevoix [Hist. Nouv. France, i 7.] thinks that the story is without foundation. His account is: "Peu de tems après son arrivée en France, il fit un nouvel armément à dessein d'établir une Colonie dans l'Amerique. Tout ce qu'on sçait de cette enterprise, c'est que s'étant embarqué, il n'a point paru depuis, et qu'on n'a jamais bien sçû ce qu'il étoit deveau." See also Fastes Chronologiques, prefixed to his history, p. xviii. "Il y périt: On ignore par quel accident."

5 Ce qu'il y a de plus certain, c'est que le malheureux sort de Verazani fut cause, que pendant plusieurs années, ni le Roi, ni la Nation ne songerent plus à l'Amerique. Charlevoix, Hist. Nouv. France, i. 8.

* *Forster supposes this to have happened "somewhere about New Jersey, or Staten Island." In lat. 40 deg. he entered a harbour, which, by his description, Dr. Belknap supposed, must be that of New York.*

† *Supposed by Forster to be Nantucket, or Martha's Vineyard.*

and

and France, to Verrazzano, a Florentine; "a circumstance which sufficiently proves, that in those times no nation was equal to the Italians in point of maritime knowledge and extensive experience in navigation [1]." It is however remarkable, that the Italians, with all their knowledge and experience, have not been able to acquire one inch of ground for themselves in America. This singular failure has been ascribed to the penurious mercantile spirit of the Italian republics; to their mutual animosities and petty wars; and to their contracted selfish policy [2].

Luke Vasquez, a Spaniard of Aylon, having previously sailed with two ships to Florida, and perfidiously carried off a number of the natives [3], for which vile action he had obtained the reward of a discoverer of new lands, instead of merited punishment, now sent over several ships to Florida. The year following he came over in person, with three more ships; but, as if in judicial punishment of his cruel perfidy, he lost two hundred of his men, who were cut off by the natives, and one of his ships was wrecked near Cape St. Helena. These losses, with his disappointments in the ex-

1 The remark appears to be original in Charlevoix [i. 4.]; the *inference* is Forster's.

2 Forster, Voy. 437. Purchas, i. 735.

3 A. D. 1520. He made this voyage with some associates, in execution of the inhuman project of stealing Indians, to supply the scarcity of hands in working the Spanish mines. Having at the place now called St. Helena decoyed a large number on board his ships, he sailed off with them. Most of these wretched captives pined to death, or were wrecked in one of the ships, which foundered at sea. A few suffered a worse fate in Spanish slavery. Univ. Hist. xli. 379. Peter Martyr, 470, 471. "Hospitii fidem violarunt Hispani tandem. Astu namque artibusque variis, post cuncta diligenter vestigata, operam dederunt ut una dierum ad naves visendi causa multi concurrerent, implentur naves inspectantibus: ubi refertas viris ac fœminis habuere, anchoris, evulsis, velis protentis, lugentes abduxerunt in servitutum. Ita regiones eas universas ex amicis reliquerunt inimicas, et ex pacatis perturbatas, filiis à parentibus ablatis, ab uxoribus maritis." Charlevoix [Hist. Nouv. France, i. p. xvii.] says, that Vasquez discovered the Cape of St. Helena, at the mouth of a great river, which has since been called, *The Jourdain*. In his map of the Coasts of French Florida [ibid. p. 24.] he makes the Jourdain the same as the *Congaree*, or *Santee*, of South Carolina, and near its mouth puts these words: *Ici devoit être le Cap St. Helene*. I conjecture, that, instead of the Congaree, he should have taken the *Combahee*, which empties itself into St. Helena Sound near the island of St. Helena, whose inhabitants pronounce the name *Sant He-le'-nah*, deriving probably both the name and pronunciation from the Spaniards. I have *now* no doubt, but that Vasquez landed on the Carolina coast: and, but for another St. Helena in the Spanish Florida, I should long since have drawn the same conclusion from the following description of P. Martyr [De Orb. Nov. 471.] which refers to the place where Vasquez landed:— "vel Bacchalaos anno abhinc vigesimo sexto ex Anglia per Cabotum repertos, aut Bacchalais contiguas, arbitror esse illas terras."

pected advantages of his discoveries, induced him to return to Hispaniola, where he died of a broken heart [1].

Papantzin, a Mexican princess, sister of Montezuma, was baptized; and she was the first person, who received Christian baptism in Tlateloloco [2].

1525.

Charles V. emperor of Spain, having sent Stephen Gomez from Corunna, to find a passage to the Molucca Islands by the way of America, this skilful navigator sailed to Cuba and Florida, and thence northwardly to Cape Razo, in the forty-sixth degree north latitude, and returned, without making the discovery. He was the first Spaniard, who sailed along this northern coast [3].

Francisco Pizarro, and Diego de Almagro, who had already distinguished themselves among the Spanish conquerors of America, not satisfied with the glory of the past, resolved to perform still greater achievements. Pizarro, having marched under Balboa across the isthmus of Darien at the time of his discovery of the South Sea [4], had received various hints from the natives concerning the opulent country of Peru [5]. He and Almagro associating with them Hernando de Luque, a schoolmaster and an ecclesiastic in Panama, who had amassed considerable wealth, these three solemnly swore in public, and entered into articles under hand and seal, never to forsake each other in any dangers or discouragement whatever, untill they should have made an entire conquest of that country [6]. Pizarro, by licence,

1 Universal History, xl. 379, 380.

2 Clavigero, i. 231.

3 Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 86. Forster, Voy. 447. Peter Martyr [460, 461.] takes notice of this voyage: "Decretum est, ut Stephanus Gomez alia via tendat, qua se inquit reperturum inter Baccalaos et Floridas iter ad Cataium; neque aliud habebit in mandatis, quàm ut inquirat, an exitus ad magnum vulgo Canem ex Oceani hujus nostri variis inflexibus, et vastis ambagibus reperiatur. Is, nec freto neque à se promisso Cataio repertis, regressus est intra mensum decimum à discessu." Venegas [Hist. Californ. i. 124.] affirms, that he was sent out in 1524, "and not in 1525, as Gomara says;" and that he returned to Spain in 1525, carrying with him some Indians. Gomez accompanied Magellan in his great voyage a few years before. Purchas, i. 738.

4 Robertson. See A. D. 1513. He was also with Ojeda, in his disastrous expedition for settling the continent. See A. D. 1510.

5 All the people on the coast of the South Sea concurred in informing Balboa, that there was a mighty and opulent kingdom, situated at a considerable distance toward the south east. Robertson.

6 Vega, 418, 426, 522. "Luque celebrated mass, divided a consecrated host into three, and reserving one part for himself, gave the other two

licence of Peter Arias d'Avila, the Spanish governor, sailed from Panama to Peru on this daring enterprize, with one hundred and twelve Spaniards and some Indians, and Almagro soon followed him; but both were repulsed and compelled to leave the country, which they had invaded [1].

1526.

Sebastian Cabot, not finding public patronage in England, had passed over into Spain; and was now employed by Charles V. in a voyage for the discovery of the Molucca Islands [2]. Sailing from Seville with five vessels [3], he first made the island of Patos, near cape St. Augustine in Brasil. The loss of his principal ship in the bay of Patos, a mutiny among his mariners, and the want of provisions, sufficient to carry him through the Straits of Magellan, induced him to resolve, not to proceed farther on the projected voyage. Making a pinnace here, to pass up the Rio de la Plata, he ascended that river sixty leagues, and came to some islands which he called, The Islands of St. Gabriel. Here he left his ships, and rowed up the Uraguay in boats three leagues, to a river on the right, which he called Rio de San Salvador; built a small fort on its banks; and detached some soldiers up the river, under the command of Alvarez Ramon. This officer and some of his people were killed by the natives. Cabot next sailed about thirty leagues up the Paraguay, and built a fort at the mouth of a river, issuing from the mountains of Tucuman, and called it, The

two to his associates, of which they partook; and thus, in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects." Robertson.

1 Robertson, iii. book vi. Purchas, v. 1491, where from p. 1491 to p. 1497 is an account of "the conquest of Peru and Cusco." From these authorities, and from Charlevoix [Hist. Nouv. France, i. *Introd.* xviii.] it appears, that Pizarro sailed from Panama, 14 November, 1524. But the substance of the allied expedition was in 1525.

2 He went to Madrid, where he entered into a treaty with the emperor, which was 4 March, 1525. Its principal articles were, That Cabot should have the command of a squadron of four ships, in quality of captain general, and that Martin Mendoz, who had been treasurer to Magellan's squadron, should serve under him, as lieutenant; that he should sail through the newly discovered Straits, then cross the South Sea to the Molucca Islands, and thence proceed on the discovery of Tharsis, Ophir, and Cipango, which were then thought to be the islands of Japan; and that he should there load his ships with gold, silver, and the other precious commodities, which the country afforded. It was Cabot himself, who proposed this expedition. Charlevoix, Paraguay, i. 30, 31.

3 A private adventurer freighted the fifth vessel at his own expence. Charlevoix.

Fort

Fort Santi Spiritus; but it is generally called by historians, Cabot's Fort. Sending dispatches to the emperor, with the silver that he had collected, he remained at Paraguay two years; discovered about two hundred leagues on that river; and, leaving Nuno de Lara the command of the fort Santi Spiritus with one hundred and twenty men, returned to Spain [1].

Previously to this time, Thomas Tison, and Englishman, had found the way to the West Indies, and was resident there; whence it is conjectured, that the English merchants already carried on a clandestine trade with those parts of America [2].

1 Herrera, iii. 381. Harris, Voy. i. 272. Charlevoix, Paraguay, i. 31—35. Charlevoix [ibid. 36—39.] tells an affecting story of the fate of this garrison, which, though it has the air of romance, is not incredible. Mangora, prince of the Timbuez (an Indian nation in the neighbourhood of Cabot's fort), becoming enamoured with Lucy Miranda, a Spanish lady, the wife of Sebastian Hurtado, (one of the principal officers of the fort), in order to obtain possession of her laid a plot for the destruction of the garrison. Taking advantage of the absence of Hurtado, who was detached with another officer, named Ruiz Moschera, and 50 soldiers, to collect provisions, he placed 4000 men in a marsh, and went with 30 others, loaded with refreshments, to the gates of the fort, which were readily opened for their admittance. Lara, the Spanish governor, in token of gratitude, gave them an entertainment, at the close of which, late at night, Mangora giving directions to his attendants to set fire to the magazines of the fort, the 4000 men, at this preconcerted signal, rushed in to the massacre. Most of the Spaniards were killed in their sleep. Lara, though wounded, espying the treacherous prince, made up to him, and ran him through the body, but was intercepted in his flight, and killed. Not a living person was now left in the fort, excepting Miranda, four other women, and as many children, all of whom were tied, and brought before Siripa, the brother and successor of Mangora. At the sight of Miranda, he conceived for her the same passion, which had proved fatal to his brother. On the return of Hurtado, Siripa ordered him to be tied to a tree and there shot to death with arrows. Miranda, throwing herself at the feet of the tyrant, by her suppliant charms procured her husband's release. The Indian prince indulged them a restricted intercourse; but the boundaries being passed, he instantly condemned Miranda to the flames, and Hurtado to the torturing death, which he had but lately escaped. Moschera now embarked with the poor remnant of his garrison, and Cabot's Fort was abandoned.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 500. This fact was discovered by Hakluyt in "a certaine note or letter of remembrance written 1526 by master Nicholas Thorne, a principall marchant of Bristol, unto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall," then at St. Lucar, in Andalusia. It appears, that to the Tison above mentioned Thorne sent armour and other commodities, specified in that letter. "This Thomas Tison," says Hakluyt, (so farre as I can conjecture) may seeme to have bene some secret factour for M. Thorne and other English marchants in those remote partes; whereby it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the West Indies even in those ancient times, and before also."

1527.

The scheme for discovering a passage to the East Indies by the northwest being resumed in England, a voyage was made, by the advice of Robert Thorne of Bristol, with two ships, furnished out by king Henry VIII. but it proved disastrous. One of the ships was lost in a dangerous gulf 1 between the northern parts of Newfoundland and the country, afterward called by queen Elizabeth, *Meta Incognita*. The second ship, after the loss of the first, shaped its course toward Cape Breton 2 and the coast of Arambec or Norumbega 3. The navigators went frequently on shore, and explored those regions, and returned in October to England 4.

1 Gulf of St. Lawrence. Brit. Emp. *Introd.* p. vii.

2 Forster [Voy. 289.] concludes, that as Cape Breton was called by this name at so early a period, it must have been thus named by Sebastian Cabot in his voyage of 1497. But it is more probable, that it received its name from the Bretons, of Bretagne in France, who early fished on the neighbouring coast. [See Annals, p. 25.] Forster himself [431.] mentions this supposition, without stricture.

3 The situation of this coast Forster [Voy. 290.] confesses, is entirely unknown to him; but he "rather supposes it to be the coast of what is now called Nova Scotia, or perhaps of even a more southerly region." Purchas [v. 1632.] says, "Pemptegoet is that place, so famous under the name of Norombega." M. René Laudonniere [Hakluyt, i. 305.] says, that the country, discovered by Verrazzano in 1524, extends from 25 to 54 deg. north lat. and in longitude from 210 to 330; and that "the easterne part thereof is called by the late writers, The Land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the Bay of Gamo, which separateth it from the Isle of Canada." Charlevoix [Nouv. France, i. 113.] says, that M. Denys divided all the eastern and northern parts of Canada into four provinces, the first of which reached from Pentagoet to the river of St. John, and was what had before been called Norumbega: "La premiere, depuis Pentagoët, jusqu'à la Riviere de S. Jean, il la nomme *la Province des Etechemins*, & c'est ce qu' on appelloit auparavant *la Norimbegue*."

4 Hakluyt, i. 517; iii. 129. Robertson, book ix. 23. Forster, 289. Biblioth. Americ. Anno 1527. Hakluyt informs us, that Master Robert Thorne, "a notable member and ornament of his country," exhorted the king with "very waightie and substantiall reasons, to set forth a discoverie even to the North pole;" that "this his motion took present effect;" and that "a Canon of S. Paul in London, which was a great mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much advance the action, and went therein himself in person." The imperfection of the account of that voyage Hakluyt ascribes to "the negligence of the writers of those times, who should have used more care in preserving the memories of the worthie acts of our nation."

1528.

Pamphilo de Narvaez, having obtained from Charles V. the indefinite grant of "all the lands lying from the river of Palms to the Cape of Florida," sailed in March from Cuba with five ships and four hundred men, for the conquest of that country [1]. Landing at Florida, he marched to Apalache, a village, consisting of forty cottages [2], where he arrived on the fifth of June. Having lost many of his men by the natives, who harassed the troops on their march, and with whom they had one sharp engagement, he was obliged to direct his course toward the sea. Sailing to the westward, he was lost with many others, in a violent storm, about the middle of November; and the enterprize was frustrated [3].

Pizarro, having made very extensive discoveries in Peru [4], went to Spain, by agreement of the joint adventurers, to ask a commission from Charles V. for the conquest and government of that country; and on giving information to the emperor of his discoveries and purposes, and presenting his request, was appointed governor, captain general, and ade-

1 He sailed from St. Lucar to Cuba 16 June, 1527, with 600 men, but he left more than 140 at St. Domingo. Purchas, v. 1499. His commission authorized him to conquer and govern the Provinces within the prescribed limits. Ibid.

2 "Small low cottages, so built by reason of continual tempest." Purchas, i. 774.

3 Purchas, i. 769; and v. 1499—1528, where there is an entire account of this voyage, as also in Harris, Voy. i. 790—805. Univ. Hist. xl. 381; xli. 469. Herrera, iii. 418; iv. 27, 28; v. 91—105. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. p. xix. Venegas, California, i. 142. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 87. From the bay of Santa Cruz, where they landed, to the place of their embarkation 22 September, it is computed, that they marched above 800 miles. Narvaez is supposed to have been lost near the mouth of the Missisippi. His people, with great difficulty, provided a kind of boats, to cross the rivers in their way, making their ropes of horse hair, and their sails of the soldiers' shirts. In conclusion, 15 only were left alive, 4 of whom, after suffering almost incredible miseries, arrived 8 years afterwards at Mexico. The bay of Pensacola is said, by the Spaniards, to have been discovered in this expedition by Narvaez, who landed there. Ibid.

4 See A. D. 1525. He was absent three years on these discoveries, and returned to Panama about the end of 1527. Herrera, iv. 6. Charlevoix [Nouv. France, i. p. xix.] says, he discovered about 200 leagues of the Peruvian coast, even to the port of Santo beyond the district of Quito. The sickliness of those regions, and the hardships of the adventurers, may be inferred from the extraordinary mortality, that prevailed among them. Pizarro carried out 112 men, Almagro 70. In less than nine months 130 of these died. Few fell by the sword; most of them perished by diseases. Robertson, iii. Note II.

lantado

lantado of all the country, which he had discovered, with supreme authority [1].

1529.

Cortes, having gone to Spain the preceding year [2], now signed an instrument, which had also the signature of the empress of Spain, by which he obliged himself to send ships at his own expence, for the discovery of countries and lands in the South Sea [3].

1530.

William Hawkins of Plymouth having commenced a friendly intercourse with the natives of Brasil, one of the kings of that country voluntarily accompanied him to England, where he was introduced to Henry VIII. at Whitehall [4].

1531.

Pizarro, returning from Spain, landed at Nombre de Dios marched across the isthmus of Panama; and joining Almagro and Luque; these three enterprising associates, by the utmost efforts of their combined interests, fitted out three small vessels, with one hundred and eighty soldiers. With this contemptible armament Pizarro sailed, to invade a great

1 Vega, 435.

2 He went to Castile in great pomp, carrying 250,000 marks of gold and silver, and was honourably received by the emperor, who conferred on him the vale of Atrisco in New Spain, with new titles, and extended powers. Herrera, iv. 22—26. Harris, Voy. i. 272. Venegas, California, i. 133.

3 Venegas, i. 133. Cortes had, in 1527, sent Saavedra with three ships from New Spain, to find a passage that way to the Moluccas. One of the ships arrived safely at these islands, and returned the same way back to Panama this year (1529,) laden with spices. This voyage prepared the Spaniards to possess themselves of the Philippine islands, in the Indian seas, which they hold to this day. Anderson, Hist. Commerce, ii. 51. Harris, Voy. i. 272.

4 Hakluyt, i. 520. Purchas, v. 1170. "— at the sight of whome," says Hakluyt, "the king and all the nobilitie did not a little marveile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their savage manner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his own countrey was reputed for a great braverie. He had also another hole in his nether lippe, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignesse of a pease. All his apparell, behaviour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders." The change of air and diet so affected him, that on his return with Hawkins he died at sea. Ibid.

sur-

empire. Landing at the bay of St. Matthew, he advanced toward the south along the sea coast; and after various disasters, reached the province of Coaque, and surprized and plundered the principal settlement. Continuing his march along the coast, he attacked the natives with such violence, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to submit to the conqueror; and met with little resistance, until he attacked the island of Puna, in the bay of Guayquil, whose inhabitants defended themselves with such obstinate valour, that he spent six months in their reduction. He next proceeded to Tumbez, where he remained several months [1].

1532.

Pizarro, passing forward to the river Piuro, established near its mouth the first Spanish colony in Peru, and named it St. Michael [2]. Leaving a garrison at this new town, he began his march, with a very slender and ill accoutred train of followers [3], toward Caxamalca, where Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru, was encamped with a considerable body of troops, and soon met an officer, dispatched by the Inca with a valuable present, and an offer of his alliance, and assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, advancing with pretensions of coming as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, united with professions of friendship, entered the town, and having posted his troops in an advantageous station, dispatched Hermando Soto and his brother Ferdinand to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant. He instructed them to renew his assurances of a parcific disposition, and to desire an interview with the Inca, that he might more fully explain the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country. They were treated with the respectible hospitality, characteristic of the Peruvians; and Atahualpa promised to visit the commander the next day in his quarters. Pizarro now resolved, with equal temerity and perfidy, to seize the person of the Inca, in the interview to which he had invited him. For the execution of his scheme he divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother

1 Robertson, iii. book vi.

2 Herrera, iv. 221. Robertson, iii. 21.

3 It consisted of 62 horse, and 106 foot, among whom were 20 cross-bowmen. Herrera, iv. 236. In this dangerous enterprize Pizarro incited his men to go forward by the singular argument, "that his main design was the propagating of the Catholic faith, without injuring any person." Had he been but *ingenuous* enough for the Arabian impostor, he would have made an admirable propagator of the Mohammedan faith.

Fer-

Ferdinand, Soto, and Belcanazar; his infantry were formed in one body, excepting twenty, of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person, to support him in the dangerous service, which he reserved for himself; and the artillery, consisting of two field pieces, and the cross-bow-men, were placed opposite the avenues by which Atahualpa was to approach.

Early in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion; and late in the day the procession, which had been arranged with care, to give an impression of splendour and magnificence, began to move. The Inca at length approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in a uniform dress, as harbingers, to clear his way. The Inca himself, sitting on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver, enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, borne in the same manner. This cavalcade was accompanied by several bands of singers and dancers; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men. As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse proposed to him the doctrines of the Christian faith; informed him of the donation, made to the king of Castile by pope Alexander, of all the regions in the New World; and required him to embrace Christianity; to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope; and to submit to the king of Castile, as his lawful sovereign [1].

Most of his harangue, mysterious in its nature, and translated by an unskilful interpreter, was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa, and some parts of it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He asserted his right to his dominions by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories, which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institution of his ancestors; and that with respect to other matters, contained in the discourse, as he did not understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary [2]. "In this

1 Vega, 450, 451. Robertson, iii. book vi.

2 Vega, 454, 455, where is the answer of Atahualpa entire. To us it appears

this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and, turning, over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This is silent, it tells me nothing," said he, and disdainfully threw it to the ground. The enraged monk, running toward his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on these impious dogs." Pizarro instantly gave the signal for a general assault. The martial music sounded; the cannon and muskets began to fire; the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge; the infantry rushed on, sword in hand. The astonished Peruvians fled without attempting resistance. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly toward the Inca through crowds of his nobles, who fell in numbers at his feet in attempting to cover his person; and seizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him, as a prisoner, to his quarters. The wretched fugitives were pursued and slaughtered with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity, until the close of the day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed, but not a single Spaniard fell [1].

The Inca, soon discovering the ruling passion of the Spaniards, offered as his ransom, to fill the apartment, in which he was confined, which was twenty-two feet long and seventeen wide, with vessels of gold, as high as he could reach. The proposal was eagerly agreed to, and a red line was drawn on the walls of the chamber, to mark the height, to which the treasure was to rise [2]. Atahualpa immediately sent messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where there was most gold amassed; and his orders for the collection were promptly executed [3].

appears noble; but it was insufferable to the soldiers of Pizarro, who, "growing weary of this long and tedious discourse, began to quit their places, and come up close to the Indians, to fight with them and rob them of their jewels of gold and silver and precious stones." Ibid.

1 Robertson, iii. book vi. Vega [457.] says, that 5000 Indians were killed that day, 3500 of whom were slain by the sword; and that the rest were old and infirm men, women, and children, who were trampled under foot; for an innumerable multitude of all ages and sexes were collected, to see the solemnity of this strange and unheard of embassy.

2 Vega, 460.

3 Robertson, iii. book vi.

1533.

The ransom of Atahualpa was now brought in; and it exceeded one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling [1]. After the division of this immense treasure among the Spaniards, the Inca demanded his liberty; but it was denied. Pizarro, resolved on his death, easily found pretexts for procuring it. The charge consisted of various articles: That Atahualpa, though a bastard, had deposed the rightful owner of the throne, and usurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful sovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted, but commanded the offering of human sacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that since his imprisonment he had wasted and embezzled the royal treasures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; and that he had incited his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. After all the formalities of a trial, observed in the criminal courts of Spain, Atahualpa was pronounced guilty, and condemned to be burnt alive [2]. Astonished at his fate, he endeavoured to avert it by tears, by promises, and by intreaties, that he might be sent to Spain, where a monarch would be his judge. But Pizarro, unmoved,

1 Europ. Settlements, i. 141. Vega [474, 482.] says, that the sum total of the ransom amounted to 4,605,670 ducats; and that there were 40 or 50,000 pieces of eight to a man. Dr. Robertson [iii. book vi.] says, that after setting apart the fifth due to the crown, and 100,000 pesos as a donative to the soldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained one million five hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred pesos to Pizarro and his followers, and that 8000 pesos, "at that time not inferior in effective value to as many pounds sterling in the present century," fell to the share of each horseman, and half that sum to each foot soldier. Pizarro and his officers received dividends proportioned to the dignity of their rank.——It is an astonishing fact, that when there was a dissatisfaction at the delay of completing the ransom within the limited time, which however was excused by the Inca on account of the distance of Cuzco, three Spaniards only were sent to that capital, with directions to take possession both of the city and treasures, though Cuzco was guarded by an army of 30,000 of the natives. Two hundred men's loads of gold were brought away, without the least opposition, in massy plates from the temple of the Sun. Harris, Voy. i. 792.

2 Robertson, iii. book vi. Montesquieu, having established the principle, "That we should not decide by political laws things which belong to the law of nations," adduces this historical example as an instance of its cruel violation by the Spaniards. "The Ynca Athualpa could only be tried by the law of nations; they tried him by political and civil laws; and, to fill up the measure of their stupidity, they condemned him, not by the political and civil laws of his own country, but by the political and civil laws of theirs." Spirit of Laws, vol. ii. book xxvi. chap. xxi, xxii.

ordered him to be led instantly to execution. Valverde, at this critical moment attempting his conversion, promised mitigation of his punishment, on his embracing the Christian faith. The horror of a tormenting death extorted from him the desire of baptism. "The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being burnt, was strangled at the stake[1]." Pizarro, to complete the scene of shameless guilt, gave him a magnificent funeral, and went into mourning [2].

Pizarro soon after forced his way into Cuzco [3], and took possession of that capital in the most solemn manner for the king of Spain [4].

Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, marched with some Spanish soldiers through a mountainous country, and, though frequently and fiercely attacked by the natives, surmounted every obstacle by his valour and perseverance, and entered Quito with his victorious troops. Alvarado, about the same

1 Robertson, iii. book vi. Had the Spanish *historians* of South America been contemporary with the Spanish *conquerors*, we might have suspected them of a confederacy, to varnish over the entire actions of the Conquest with the gloss of religion. The extorted consent of the wretched Inca to an ablution, whose meaning he neither understood, nor regarded, is ascribed by Garcilasso de la Vega to the infinite mercy of God. The Catholic historian believed, doubtless, that by means of this rite the murdered Inca received as great a recompence for the loss of his *life*, as his subjects for the loss of their *country*; which, Acosta assures us, "was recompensed to them by the gain which heaven was to their souls."—"But now," says Vega, "to consider that an idolater, who had been guilty of such horrid cruelties, as Atahualpa had been, should receive baptism at the hour of his death, can be esteemed no otherwise than an effect of the infinite mercy of God toward so great a sinner as he was, and I am." Commentaries of Peru, 476. Atahualpa, who ever since the arrival of the Spaniards had been impressed with a persuasion, that the end of his empire was approaching, was greatly depressed at the sight of a comet; and said to Pizarro, who asked the cause of his depression: "When I saw myself first in chains, I thought there would be little distance between my imprisonment and my grave, of which I am now fully certified by this comet." Ibid. 472. Alsted, a German author, [Thesaurus Chronologiæ, p. 492.] takes notice of this comet, and relates several calamitous events, which *followed* it. "1533. Arsit cometa xiphias seu ensiformis. Sequuti sunt terræmotus in Germania, mutationes in Anglia, et contentio inter Carolum V. cum Gallo super ducatu Mediolanensi." This expositor of omens ought to have added, The termination of the empire of the Incas.

2 Vega, 474—478. Herrera, iv. 275, 276. Purchas, v. 1486. Europ. Settlements, i. 143, 144.

3 This was the imperial city of the Incas, and was situated in a corner of the Peruvian empire, above 400 miles from the sea. Robertson. The spoil of this city was immense. See Herrera, iv. 392.

4 Herrera, iv. 392. Robertson, iii. book vi. Historians differ widely in their *dates* of the events of this conquest. I have generally followed Dr. Robertson.

time,

time, made a most hazardous expedition into the same kingdom [1].

1534.

The Spaniards had already begun to settle a colony in the interior part of Peru [2]; but, for the better accommodation of trade and commerce, Pizarro now transplanted them to a place near the sea, selected for a new settlement, over against the valley of Rimac, and here he founded the city of los Reyes [3]; since known and celebrated under the name of Lima [4].

Though the misfortune of Verazzano had suspended the enterprizes of the French for discoveries in the New World; yet, on a representation made by Philip Chabot, admiral of France, of the advantages that would result from establishing a colony in a country, from which Spain derived her great wealth, these enterprizes were renewed. James Cartier of St. Malo, by commission from the king, sailed in April from that port with two small ships and one hundred and twenty-two men; and on the tenth of May came in sight of Newfoundland; but the earth was covered with snow, and great quantities of ice were about the shore. Six degrees to the southward he discovered a harbour, which he called St. Catharine's. Returning to the northward, he sailed almost round Newfoundland. In forty-eight degrees thirty minutes north latitude he discovered and named the Baye des Chaleurs, or Heats [5]; and the Gulf of St. Lawrence [6]. Having

1 Robertson, iii. book vi. Alvarado, a distinguished officer in the conquest of Mexico, had obtained the government of Guatimala. He embarked on this expedition with 500 men, above 200 of whom served on horseback, and, landing at Puerto Viego, commenced his march toward Quito; but in passing the snowy ridge of the Andes and the deserts 60 of his men were frozen to death, and before he reached the plain of Quito a fifth part of the men and half of their horses died. No expedition in the New World was conducted with more persevering courage than this; and in none were greater hardships endured. Robertson. Vega [492, 493.] says, among those who were frozen to death in passing the Andes, was the first Spanish woman, who ever came to Peru.

2 In the valley of Saussa, 80 leagues from Rimac within land. Vega.

3 Vega, 521, 522.

4 Robertson, iii. book vi. Lima is a corruption of the ancient name of the valley in which it is situated. Ibid. Herrera [iv. 409; v. i.] puts the building of Lima in 1535: and Robertson 18 January of that year. I follow the historian of Peru, who, after observing the different dates of other historians, fixes on the beginning of 1534.

5 Thus named on account of the sultry weather.

6 Named from his entering it on the day of that festival.

sailed to the fifty-first degree of latitude, in the successless hope of passing to China, he returned to France, without making a settlement [1].

1535.

Cartier, by royal commission, sailed a second time from France, with three ships, accompanied by a number of young men of distinction, who were desirous of making their fortunes under his guidance [2]. Discovering now the river of Canada, which gradually obtained the name of St. Lawrence [3], he sailed up this noble stream three hundred leagues to a great and swift fall; formed alliances with the natives; took possession of the territory; built a fort; and wintered in the country, which he called New France. He at this time visited Hochelaga, which he called Montreal, a large Indian settlement [4], where the French were well received, but were soon infected with the scurvy, of which disease twenty-five of their number died. The next spring Cartier returned with the remains of his crew to France [5]. This was the first attempt of the French to make a settlement in America [6].

Cartier expatiated to the king on the advantages, that would probably result from a settlement in this country, principally

1 Charlevoix, Hist. Nouv. France, i. p. xx. *Introd.* and p. 8, 9. Hakluyt, iii. 186, 201—212. Purchas, i. 749; v. 1605. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 407. Belknap, Biog. i. 34. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 89. Forster, Voy. 437, 438. Brit. Emp. *Introd.* p. xlvii.

2 Jeunes Gentilshommes, qui voulurent le suivre en qualité de Volontaires. Charlevoix.

3 According to Charlevoix, the name of St. Lawrence was first given to the *Bay*; it was next extended to the *Gulf*; and then to *the River of Canada*, which discharges itself into the Gulf. Hist. Nouv. France, i. 10. In sailing up this river Cartier discovered Hazle or Filbert Island [Isle aux Coudre;] Bacchus Island, since called, The Isle of Orleans; and the river St. Croix, since called Jacques Cartier's river. From this river, partly by stratagem and partly by force, he carried off Donnaconna, a chief of the natives. "The poore king of the countrey with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboarde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously carryed away into France, where he lived four yeeres, and then dyed a Christian there." Hakluyt, iii. 187. It appears, that ten of the natives were carried to France by Cartier; and that all of them, excepting a girl ten years of age, died before his third voyage in 1540. Ibid. 232.

4 It contained about 50 dwellings, each 50 paces long, and 14 or 15 broad, encompassed with pallisadoes. The original name, given by Cartier, was *Mont-Royal*, and was applied by him to a *mountain* near the Indian village, but it was afterward extended to the entire *island*, called at this day *Montreal*. Charlevoix, i. 13.

5 Charlevoix, i. 9—13. Hakluyt, iii. 212—232.

6 Forster, Voy. 439.

by

by means of the fur trade; but the fallacious opinion, then prevalent among all the nations of Europe, that such countries only, as produced gold and silver, were worth the possession, had such influence on the French, that they slighted the salutary advice of Cartier, and would hear no more of the establishment of a colony in Canada [1].

Don Pedro de Mendoza, with twelve ships and two thousand men, made an expedition up the river de la Plata, to discover, conquer, and inhabit the circumjacent regions; and died on his return home [2]. The people, whom he left, built a large town, called Nuestra Sennora de Buenos Ayres [3], the capital of the government; and, with the aid of the natives, discovered and conquered the country, until they came to the mines of Potosi, and to the town of la Plata [4].

1536.

A voyage was made from England to Newfoundland by one hundred and twenty persons, thirty of whom were gentlemen of education and character [5]. The first land, that they made, was

1 Forster, Voy. 441.

2 He sailed from Cadiz in August 1535. Charlevoix, Paraguay, i. 42. By a storm in the river la Plata he lost 8 of his ships, and sailed with the rest for Spain; leaving behind the greatest part of his men. In a short time not 500 of them remained alive [Purchas, i. 849.] and at length but 200, who went in the ship boats far up the Paraguay, leaving their mares and horses at Buenos Ayres. "It is a wonder," says Lopez Vaz, "to see that of 30 mares and 7 horses, which the Spaniards left there, the increase in 40 years was so great that the countrey is 20 leagues up full of horses." Hakluyt, iii. 787.

3 From its salubrious air. Ibid. and Hakluyt, iii. 788. The Islands of St. Gabriel [See A. D. 1526.] were a little above this place. Ibid.

4 Harris, Voy. i. 273. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 203. Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* Buenos Ayres. This Spanish colony two years afterward [1527] built the town of Assumption on the river Paraguay [Purchas, i. 850. Herrera, v. 343.]; and "the Indians" of this place "bestowed their daughters in marriage upon them, and so they dwellt all together in one towne." They were here 20 years before any intelligence of them reached Spain; "but waxing olde, and fearing that when they were dead, their sons, which they had begotten in this countrey, being very many, should live without the knowledge of any other Christians," they built a ship, and sent it into Spain with letters to the king, giving an account of all that had occurred; and the king sent 3 ships with a bishop and several priests and friers, "and more men and women to inhabite, with all kind of cattell." Hakluyt, iii. 788. Lopez Vaz (ibid.) calls the town *La Ascension*.

5 Hakluyt says, "One Master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and given to the studie of Cosmographie, encouraged divers gentlemen and others, being assisted by the king's favour and good countenance, to accompany him" in this voyage of discovery; and that "his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many

was Cape Breton, whence they sailed north-eastward to the island of Penguin, and then to Newfoundland; but, after suffering the extremity of famine, in which many perished, and the survivors were constrained to support life by feeding on the bodies of their dead companions, they returned to England 1.

1537.

Cortes with three ships discovered the large peninsula of California 2; and the island of St. Jago in its vicinity 3.

The Supreme Council of the Indies in Spain made some ordinances for the provinces in New Spain; among which were the following: That the Prelates should see the children of the mixed race between Spaniards and Indians instructed in the Christian doctrine, and good manners: that the Viceroy should not permit the Indian youth to live idly, but require that they learn some trades; that the College, founded by the Franciscan Friers at Mexico, for teaching Indian boys the Latin Grammar, should be finished; and that the Indians,

gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie; and divers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entred into the action with him." This indefatigable author wrote most of his relation from the mouth of Master Thomas Butts, one of the gentlemen adventurers, "to whom," says Hakluyt, "I rode 200 miles onely to learne the whole truth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now alive that was in this discoverie."

1 Hakluyt, i. 517—519, and iii. 129—131, where there is an entire account of this voyage. When reduced to such extremities, as to be ready to cast lots, whose turn it should be to be devoured next, there arrived a French ship, of which they made themselves masters, and left theirs to the French, after distributing among them a sufficient quantity of provisions. Some months after their arrival in England, a complaint was brought against them by the French for the forcible seizure of their vessel; but the king, learning the direful necessity, which had induced them to this act of violence, indemnified them out of his own purse, and allowed them to pass with impunity. These adventurers appear to have been ignorant of the immense store of fish on all the banks about Newfoundland; whence it is concluded, that this fishery must have been in use 32 years at least, without the knowledge of the English. Ibid. and Forster, Voy. 290, 291.

2 Venegas, California, i. 1—4. This name was given to the peninsula at its first discovery; and is supposed to have had its origin in some accident; for its etymology cannot be traced. The Spaniards, in honour of Cortes, afterward called the Gulf of California, *Mar de Cortes*. Ibid. and *Pref.* In the Map, inserted in Venegas' History of California it is called, "The Gulph of California, or Cortes's Red Sea." Robertson, ii. 394; but he puts this discovery in 1536. Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* CALIFORNIA.

3 Herrera, v. 74—91; vi. 178—185. Harris, Voy. i. 273.

who

who understood not Spanish, appearing before any Court, should be allowed a Christian friend of their own, to assist them, and save them from injustice [1].

1538.

Pizarro sent Baldivia with a large number of Spaniards, to discover and conquer the country of Chili; and they discovered considerable territory, principally on the sea coast toward the south east, to upward of forty degrees south latitude [2].

1539.

Ferdinand de Soto, governor of Cuba, having projected the conquest of Florida, sailed from the port of Havanna with nine vessels, nine hundred men beside sailors, two hundred and thirteen horses, and a herd of swine. Arriving on the thirtieth of May at the bay of Espiritu Santo on the western coast of Florida, he landed three hundred men, and pitched his camp; but about break of day the next morning they were attacked by a numerous body of natives, and obliged to retire [3].

1540.

Notwithstanding the general rejection of Chartier's advice relative to making a settlement in Canada [4], individuals entertained just sentiments on the subject. A nobleman of Picardy, François de la Roque, lord of Roberval [5], more

1 Herrera, v. 154.

2 Harris, Voy. i. 273, who places the enterprize in this or the following year. Almagro had previously (in 1535) invaded Chili, but met with formidable opposition from the natives, and was recalled from his expedition by an unexpected revolution in Peru. Robertson, iii. book vi.

3 Herrera, v. 225. Univ. Hist. xl. 382. Belknap, Biog. i. 186. There is an entire account of this expedition in Purchas, v. 1528—1556. Soto had already received from Charles V. the title of Marquis of Florida. Nearly 1000 men were raised in Spain for the expedition, and among them were many gentlemen of quality. Ten ships were fitted out to carry them with all necessary stores; and they sailed from San Lucar for Cuba 6 April, 1538. Herrera, v. 224. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 92. Biblioth. Americ. 57.

4 See A. D. 1535.

5 Created by the king (15 January, 1540) lord in Norumbega, and his lieutenant general and viceroy in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpon, Labrador, the Great Bay, and Baccalaos, with plenary authority. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 21.

zealous than any of his countrymen for prosecuting discoveries in this country, fitted out two ships at his own expence; but being ready for embarkation himself, he sent Cartier with five ships before him, with a royal commission, as captain general [1]. Cartier commenced this voyage in May; and, after encountering many storms, landed in Newfoundland on the third of August. Roberval not arriving, he proceeded to Canada; and on a small river, four leagues above the port de St. Croix, built a fort, and began a settlement, which he called Charlebourg [2].

1541.

Francis Orellana, having accompanied Gonsalvo Pizarro from Quito to the river Napo, followed its course to the Maregnon; descended that river; and arrived at its mouth after a voyage of nearly seven months [3].

The reduction of Chili was completed [4].

St. Jago de la Nueva Estremadura, the capital of Chili, was founded by Peter de Valdivia [5].

St. Jago de Guatimala was principally destroyed by the eruption of a volcano, attended with a dreadful storm, and succeeded by an inundation [6]. The city, for greater security,

1 This commission, given by Francis I. is inserted entire, in the original French, in Hazard's Collections, i. 19—21.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 232—236. Forster, Voy. 441, 442. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 92. Chalmers [i. 82.] says, Cartier built this fort with the design rather to explore the great river of St. Lawrence, than to take formal possession of the country. This first settlement appears to have been at no great distance from Quebec and the little river of Charles. There is a small place just about there, called Charlesbourg. Forster, Voy. 444, Translator's *Note*.

3 Robertson, iii. 85. Harris, Voy. i. 272. Harris says, he sailed 500 leagues down this river, which he and Herrera say is the River of the Amazons. Gonsalvo Pizarro went from Quito in 1540 with 200 Spaniards, and 300 Indians to carry burdens, to discover the Isle of Cinnamon. Arriving at Guana, Pizarro soon after near the Napo left his sick men and treasure with Orellana, and went with a company by land along the river's side 200 leagues. Orellana, in the mean time, went down the river. Pizarro, not finding him on his return, was reduced to great extremity for want of provisions; and of the 200 Spaniards, who left Quito, not more than 10 returned to that city. Ibid. 273.

4 With the addition of Chili, seven great kingdoms, inhabited by a vast number of wealthy and warlike nations, had now, since the discovery of America, been compelled to submit to the Spanish yoke. Europ. Settlements, i. 67.

5 Herrera, v. 300. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 208.

6 It was the capital of the audience of Guatimala, and one of the noblest cities of New Spain. Herrera [v. 356.] says, that 600 Indians perished, and a great

ty, was now removed, together with the episcopal see and king's council, to the distance of two miles 1.

Francis Pizarro was assassinated at his own palace at noon day, by the friends of Almagro, at the age of sixty-three years 2.

Don Pedro de Alvarado, in assisting to suppress an insurrection of Indians, was thrown down a precipice by a horse, which fell from a high rock against him; and he died soon after of his bruises 3.

1542.

Soto, having marched several hundred miles, and passed through the Indian towns of Alibama, Talise, and Tascalusa, to Mavilla, whence, after a severe engagement, he had retreated to Chicaça, remained there until April of this year 4. His army, now resuming its march through the Indian territories, was reduced to about three hundred men, and forty horses 5. Soto, having appointed Lewis de Moscoso his successor in command 6, died at the confluence of Guacoya and Mississippi 7.

great number of Spaniards. The authors of the Universal History [xxxix. 147.] say, that, beside a hurricane and volcanic eruption, there was at the same time one of the most dreadful earthquakes, ever felt in any part of the globe; but their account of the number that perished appears exaggerated.

1 Purchas, i. 814.

2 Vega [612—615.] says, that 13 conspirators in Chili went with drawn swords, and assassinated him. Herrera [v. 289—291.] says, that John de Reda was at the head of the conspirators; that he was joined by 17 others, "all able and daring men;" that they acquainted 12 others, "no ways inferior to themselves," with the design, who also agreed to carry it on; that "they all set out armed from Almagro's house;" and that some stayed to cure the streets, "so that those, who made to his house, were only nineteen."

3 Herrera, v. 351—354. Vega, 520.

4 See A. D. 1539. He reached Mavilla (a town enclosed with wooden walls) in 1541. The engagement there was in October of that year; and in it 2000 poor natives were slain, and 48 Spaniards. A considerable number of Spaniards died afterward of their wounds; so that their entire loss was 83. They lost also 45 horses. The town was burnt in the action. Chicaça was an Indian village of 20 houses.

5 Univ. Hist. xli. 391. See A. D. 1543.

6 Herrera, vi. 8.

7 Herrera, vi. 9. Purchas, v. 1552. Belknap, Biog. i. 192. Univ. Hist. xli. 392. To prevent the Indians from obtaining knowledge of his death, his body was put into an oak, hollowed for that purpose, and sunk in the river. Belknap, Biog. i. 192. Harris, Voy. i. 809. Herrera, vi. 9. Herrera, who mentions the hollowed oak, defines the place in the river where it was sunk, by saying it was where the river was a quarter of a league over, and 19 fathoms deep. At his death he was 42 years of age, and had expended 100,000 ducats in this expedition. Herrera, vi. 9, where there is a pleasing account of his character.

Juan

Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, on an expedition, to search for the Straits of Anian, and to explore the western coast of America, discovered land in forty-two degrees north latitude, on the North American coast, and, in honour of the Viceroy, who had employed him called it Cabo Mendocino. Having proceeded to the forty-fourth degree, he was compelled by the sickness of his crew, the want of provisions, the weakness of his ship, and the turbulence of the sea, to return [1].

Cartier, having waited in vain at Canada for the arrival of the viceroy M. de Roberval, and consumed all his provisions; and now dreading an attack from the savages, set out on his return to France. Roberval, with three ships and two hundred persons, coming to recruit the settlement in Canada, met him at Newfoundland, and would have obliged him to return to his province; but he eluded him in the night, and sailed for Bretagne. The viceroy, proceeding up the river St. Lawrence four leagues above the island of Orleans, and finding here a convenient harbour, built a fort, and remained over the winter [2].

1543.

The small remains of Soto's army, consisting of three hundred and eleven men, arrived at Panuco on the tenth of September; and the great expedition terminated in the poverty and ruin of all who were concerned in it. Not a Spaniard was now left in Florida [3].

1544.

Orellana, having contracted with the king of Spain for the government of as much territory as he could conquer, in the provinces about the river Amazon, by name of New Andeluzia, sailed from San Lucar with four ships and four hundred men, and arrived at the mouth of a river, which he supposed

1 Forster, Voy. 448. Venegas, California, i. 161.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 240. Purchas, i. 750; v. 1605. Purchas says, that Roberval built the fort "faire and strong." Belknap, Biog. i. 35. Forster, Voy. 442. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 93.

3 Harris, Voy. Purchas, v. 1556. See an account of Soto's expedition entire in Herrera, Decad. iv. book vi. chap. i.; book vii. chap. iii. iv. v.; book x. chap. i. ii. See also Harris, Voy. i. 805—810. for an account of it, written by a Portugueese, who went on the expedition.

to be the Napo, that he had formerly descended 1. Ascending this river about a hundred leagues, he built a brigantine, and staid here about three months, during which time fifty-five of his men died. Proceeding higher up, he met with various disasters, and, after much fruitless research for the main branch of the river, fell sick, and, relinquishing the design, died of his distemper and of grief 2.

1545.

The mines of Potosi were accidentally discovered by an Indian, named Hualpa. Coming to a steep place, while pursuing some wild goats up the mountain, he laid hold of an herb, which, yielding to his weight, came up by the roots, and discovered a large mass of silver. On the disclosure of this discovery, the mines were wrought to immense advantage 3.

1546.

A pestilence prevailed through the entire kingdom of Peru. It began at Cuzco; and, spreading over the country, swept off an immense number of people 4.

1547.

Civil dissentions among the Spaniards in Peru induced the Emperor Charles V. to send to that country Pedro de Gasca, a very respectable ecclesiastic, with the commission of President. On his arrival, he restored harmony, and established the royal authority 5.

1548.

1 See A. D. 1541. One of the ships, carrying 70 men and 11 horses, turned back, on account of contrary winds, and was heard of no more.

2 Vega, 1006. Herrera, v. 265. vi. 81, 82. See an account of Orellana's two voyages ibid. Decad. iv. book. vi. chap iii; and Dec. v. book i. chap. iv.

3 Herrera, vi. 89. Vega, 344. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 193. Anderson, ii. 76. Beside the mass of silver, Hualpa observed large lumps of the metal in the earth, adhering to the roots of the plant. Hastening to his house at Porco, he washed the silver, and used it: and, when it was exhausted, repaired to his treasury. A confidential friend of Hualpa disclosed the secret to a Spaniard, living at Porco, and the mine was immediately wrought. The first register of the mines of Potosi was in April 1545; and Hualpa's mine was called, *The discoverer*, because it marked the channel to other mines in that mountain. Ibid.

4 Herrera, vi. 112.

5 Vega, 756, 763. Robertson, iii. book vi. He the next year [1548] divided the lands in Peru. Herrera, vi. 216. "His memory," says Ve-

1548.

The English fishery on the American coast had now become an object of national importance and legislative encouragement. The parliament of England passed an act prohibiting the exaction of money, fish, or other rewards, by any officer of the Admiralty, under any pretext whatever, from the English fishermen and mariners, going on the service of the fishery at Newfoundland. This was the first act of parliament relating to America [1].

1549.

The civil war in France had exceedingly retarded the progress of colonization, from the time of Roberval's first enterprize for the settlement of Canada [2]. The same nobleman, at length, accompanied by his brother and a numerous train of adventurers, embarked again for the river St. Lawrence; but they were never heard of afterward. This disastrous event discouraged the people and the government of France to such a degree, that for fifty years no measures were taken for supplying the few French settlers, who still remained in Canada [3].

The Portuguese built the city St. Salvador, which was the

ga [776.], "ought for ever to be celebrated, in regard that by his good fortune, excellent conduct, prudence, and wisdom, the new empire containing 1800 leagues in length, was recovered, and restored to the emperor Charles V. with a vast treasure which he brought with him."

1 Hakluyt, i. 521; iii. 131, 132, where the act is inserted entire. "By this act," says Hakluyt, "it appeareth that the trade out of England was common and frequented about the beginning of the reigne of Edward the 6, namely in the year 1548, and it is much to be marveiled, that by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched." See also Chalmers, i. 9. Anderson, ii. 83. Forster, Voy. 292. The preamble of the act says, "within these few years past there have been taken by certain officers of the Admiralty divers great exactions, as sums of money, doles, or shares of fish, &c. to the great discouragement of those fisheries [Newfoundland and Iceland,] and of damage to the whole commonwealth." There is an apparent error in Prince, [Chron. *Introd.* 99.] who places the beginning of the fishing trade of the English at Newfoundland in 1560.

2 See A. D. 1540.

3 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 22. "Avec eux tomberent toutes les esperances, qu'on avoit conçûës de faire un Etablissement en Amérique." Univ. Hist. xxxix. 408. Forster, Voy. 443.

first

first European settlement in Brasil [1]; and the Jesuits now introduced Christianity into the Brasilian country [2].

1550.

The controversy that gave rise to the Separation from the Church of England began about this time; and now commenced the Æra of the English Puritans [3].

The plough was introduced into Peru [4].

1551.

Bartholomew de las Casas, having zealously laboured fifty years for the liberty, comfort, and salvation of the natives of America, returned discouraged to Spain, at the age of seventy-seven years [5].

1 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 217. It became afterward populous, magnificent, and incomparably the most gay and opulent city in all Brasil. Ibid 228.

2 Histoire Impartiale des Jesuites, i. 385—387.

3 The controversy was "on occasion of bishop Hooper's refusing to be consecrated in the Popish habits." Neal, Hist. Puritans, vol. i. *Preface*, and p. 61—65. See Prince, Chron. 215 Burnet, Hist. Reformation, iii. 199—203. Hooper was a zealous, a pious, and a learned man, who had gone out of England in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. and resided at Zurich. Ibid. Pierce, [Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 29.] hence observes, "that the habits have, from the very infancy of our Reformation, been an offence to *very learned and pious men*." The archbishop of Canterbury, with other bishops and divines, having concluded on an order of divine worship, an act, confirming that new liturgy, had passed both houses of parliament 15 January, 1549. It was protested against however by the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester. The parliament enacted, that all divine offices should be performed according to the new liturgy, and subjected such of the clergy, as should refuse the service, or officiate in any other manner, to forfeitures and imprisonment; and, for the third offence, to imprisonment for life. Whoever should write or print against the book were to be fined 10*l.* for the first offence; 20*l.* for the second; and to be imprisoned for life for the third. The Council immediately appointed Visitors, to see that the Liturgy was received throughout England. Neal, Hist. Puritans, i. 50, 51. See Note III. at the end of the vol.

4 Vega, 578. This historian of Peru was carried that year to see oxen at plough in the valley of Cuzco, and great numbers of Indians flocked from all parts, with astonishment, to behold "this prodigious novelty." Ib.

5 Encyclop. Methodique. *Art.* Casas. He wrote his Narrative of the destruction of the Indians by the Spaniards, in the year 1542 [Purchas v. 1569, where the substance of it is inserted,] at which time he affirmed, "that of three millions of people, which were in Hispaniola of the natural inhabitants, there scarce remain 300;" "and now," adds Purchas [i. 913.], "as Alexandro Ursino reporteth, none at all: only two and twenty thousand negroes and some Spaniards reside there." Las Casas died A. D. 1566, Ætat. xcii. Encyc. Method. ibid.

1552.

The rich mines of New Spain were discovered 1.

The Portuguese about this time put cattle and swine for breed on the Isle of Sable 2.

1555.

The culture of grapes had already succeeded in Chili 3.

1558.

The Inca of Peru and his wife were baptized at Cuzco. The inhabitants of the city honoured the day of the baptism with the sport of bulls, and throwing of darts, and other signals of joy 4.

1560.

Don Antonio de Ribera carried from Seville several olive plants, and planted them in los Reyes, whence one of them was conveyed by stealth to Chili; and from this time the olive flourished in Chili and Peru 5.

1 Robertson, ii. 388.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 155. I rely on this account, which is taken from a Report of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage in 1583, written by M. Edward Haies, a gentleman who accompanied Gilbert, who says, "Sablon lieth to the seaward of Cape Breton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, during our abode in S. John's, who was himselfe present, when the Portugals (about thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied." See a French account, p. 53, note 6, of these Annals.

3 Vega, 388. Bartholomew de Terrazas, one of the first conquerors of Peru, first planted them in the city of Chili. This year from a vineyard in the country he sent 30 Indians, "laden with fair and goodly grapes," to his friend Garcilasso de la Vega, father of the historian. "For my part," says Vega, "I did partake of those grapes; for my father having made me the messenger to carry them, attended with two pages, I delivered to every principal house two large bunches of them." Ibid.

4 They appeared "in rich attire and costly liveries," says Vega the historian, who was present at this *Christian* exhibition. Commentaries of Peru, 999.

5 Vega, 391.

1562.

During the civil war between the Protestant and Catholic parties in France, the illustrious but unfortunate statesman, admiral Coligny [1], formed a project for carrying a colony of Protestants to America, to secure for them an asylum, and at the same time promote the interest of his country [2]. Having obtained permission of Charles IX. of France, who was anxious to get rid of his Huguenots, he fitted out two ships, and giving the command of them to John Ribault, sent him over with a colony of Protestants to Florida. Ribault sailed from France in February, and the first land that he discovered on the coast of Florida, was in the thirtieth degree north latitude, which he called Cape François. Coasting thence toward the north, he discovered "a very fair and great river," which he entered on the first of May, and from this circumstance called it the River of May [3]. Here he was welcomed

1 He is sometimes called *Chatillon*, from the place of his residence. "La maison de Coligny possedoit Châtillon-sur Loing, et en a quelquefois pris le nom de Chatillon." Encyc. Methodique, Histoire, *Art.* CHATILLON. This distinguished leader of the French Protestants was assassinated in the beginning of the massacre of Paris 24 August, 1571. In that horrible massacre of Chatillon and the Huguenots (ordered by Charles IX. of France,) upwards of 70,000 persons were killed. It is commonly called the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Du Fresnoy, Chronol. Tables, ii. 161.

2 Purchas, v. 1603. Chalmers, i. 513. Chalmers [ibid.] says, "It was not till this year, that Coligny *sent a colony* to Florida;" and with him historians unitedly agree. Mezeray however [Hist. France, p. 700.] says, that he had previously attempted a settlement in that country; but does not mention the year. His words are: "One of the admiral's principal cares was to increase the navigation and the trade of France, chiefly in those countries of the other hemisphere [America,] as well for the credit of his office, as to plant colonies there of his own religion. He had sent the Chevalier de Villegagnon to Florida, as believing him fixed in the new opinions; but this man failed him in his promises, and rudely handled those of that profession. Afterward, in the year 1562, he dispatched John Ribaud thither with two ships, who sailing a quite different course than the Spaniards had wont to do, most happily landed at Florida."

3 Denominated afterward by the Spaniards St. Matheo [Chalmers, i. 513.]; but now called St. John's river. Some suppose this to have been what is now called St. Mary's river, which forms part of the southern boundary line of the United States; but from Laudonniere's account [Hakluyt, iii. 308, 309.] we should conclude, it was the St. John's. "Hee [Ribault] arrived in Florida, landing near a Cape or Promontorie, which he called St. François in honour of our France. This Cape is distant from the equator thirtie degrees. Coasting from this place towards the North, he discovered a very faire and great river, which gave him occasion to cast anker, that he might search the same. The day following he caused a pillar

comed by a great number of the natives, and erected a pillar of hard stone, on which he caused the arms of France to be engraved. Proceeding to the northward, he discovered nine other rivers [1], one of which, in the latitude of thirty-two degrees, "because of its largeness and excellent faireness," he called Port Royal [2]. Sailing many leagues up this, he erected on an island in the river a pillar of stone, similar to that previously erected on the river of May; built a fort, which he called Charles Fort; and here left a colony, promising to return, assoon as possible, with reinforcements and provisions [3]. The set-

pillar of hard stone to be planted within the sayde river, and not far from the mouth of the same upon a little sandie knappe, in which pillar the Armes of France were carved and engraved. We called this river *The River of May*, because we discovered it the first day of the sayde month." In *coasting northwardly* from lat. 30, Ribault could hardly have passed by St. John's river, a broad navigable stream, without noticing it. Hawkins, who visited the French settlement on the river of May [See page 84, note 3.], found it "standing in thirtie degrees and better" [Hakluyt, i. 539.], which lattitude perfectly agrees with that of the mouth of the St. John's.

1 Corresponding perhaps to the

Named by the French	*English names.*
The Seine	St. Mary's
The Somme	Satilla
The Loire	Alatamaha
The Charente	Newport
The Garonne	Ogeechee
The Gironde	Savannah
The Belle	May River [in South Carolina]
The Grande	Broad River
Port Royale	Port Royal

I know that Charlevoix's map of French Florida puts the Alatamaha for the Seine; the Ogeechee for the Charente; and the Savannah for the Garonne. It may be correct; but a map, though it contain some rare and curious matter, and aid the solution of some historical problems, cannot claim entire confidence, while it presents Powhatan or James River as in South Carolina, with James Town in Virginia on its banks, and Charlestown, the Carolinian capital, at its mouth. I pretend however to nothing more than *conjecture*, with regard to the several streams, corresponding to the French names.

2 Purchas, v. 1603. Hakluyt, iii. 304. "The haven is one of the fairest of the West Indies." Ibid. 324. "Wee stroke our sailes, and cast anker at ten fathom of water; for the depth is such namely when the sea beginneth to flowe, that the greatest shippes of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter there." Ibid. 309. Dr. Belknap erroneously supposed Port Royal river to be the same as the river of May: "Ribalt named the River *May*, and the entrance he called *Port Royal*." American Biography, i. 36. He accordingly fixed Ribault's colony and Fort Charles at the river of May. Ibid. But the accounts of this voyage of Ribault, and of the voyage of Laudonniere in 1564 [See note 3 in that year], prove, that they were two distinct rivers, and widely distant from each other. The French settlement on the river of May was in about 30 degrees north latitude [Hakluyt i. 539.]; but Fort Charles, built by Ribault on Port Royal river, was in lat. 32 degrees. Ibid. iii. 309.

3 See Note IV. at the end of the volume.

tlers,

sclers, whom he left behind, soon after mutinied, and killed Albert, their captain, for his severity. Reduced at length to insupportable extremity, they, by extraordinary efforts, built and forgged out a vessel [1], and, "embarking their artillery, their forge, and other munitions of war, and as much mill, as they could gather," they put to sea. When they had been out several weeks, and spent all their provisions, they butchered one of their number, who consented to be made a victim, to save his comrades [2]. Soon after they were taken up by an English ship, and carried into England [3].

1 They procured turpentine from the pine trees; and "gathered a kind of mosse, which groweth on the trees of this country," to caulk their vessel; and made sails of their own shirts and sheets. The moss, mentioned by Laudonniere, grows several feet in length on the trees along the southern sea coast; and is a great curiosity to a person born in New England. I never saw so perfect natural arbours, as those on the islands of St. Helena and Port Royal, formed by trees of the forest, covered with this species of moss. The trees appear exceedingly venerable; and, impervious to the rays of the sun, form a most grateful shade in that burning climate.

2 After sailing a third part of the voyage, they were so becalmed, that in three weeks they sailed not above 25 leagues. During this time their provisions were so far spent, "that every man was constrained to eate not past twelve graines of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelve peason" (pease). When the mill was spent, they ate their shoes and leather jerkins. "Touching their beverage," says Laudonniere, "some of them drank the sea water, others did drink their own urine." This extreme famine continued so long, that several of them died with hunger. A boisterous head wind now springing up, and their vessel becoming suddenly half filled with water; "as men resolved to die, every one fell downe backwarde, and gave themselves over altogether unto the will of the waves." One of their number, at this juncture, encouraging them with the hope of seeing land in three days, they threw the water out of the pinnace, and remained three days without eating or drinking, excepting the sea water. No land appearing at the end of the three days they became absolutely desperate. In this extreme despair, it was suggested, that it were better that one man should die, than that so many men should perish. The direful expedient was adopted; and executed on Le Chere (or Lachau,) "whose flesh was divided equally among his fellowes: a thing so pitiful to recite," says Laudonniere, "that my pen is loth to write it." Hakluyt, iii. 318. Charlevoix [Nouv. France, i. 35.] says, that Lachau voluntarily proposed to become a victim, and adds: "Il fut pris au mot, et on l'égorga sur le champ, sans qu'il fit la moindre résistance. Il ne fut pas perdu une goute de son sang, tous en burent avec avidité, le corps fut mis en piéces, et chacun en eut sa part."

3 Hakluyt, iii. 303—319. Purchas, i. 769, 770; v. 1603. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 24—35. Fastes Chron. [ibid.] p. 24. Mezeray, Hist. France, 700. Univ. Hist. xl. 393—395. Hewet, S. Carolina and Georgia, i. 18. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 99. Harris, Voy. i. 810. Anderson, Hist. Com. ii. 117.

1563.

The first slave trade of the English was opened on the coast of Guinea. John Hawkins, in the prospect of great gain, resolved to make trial of this nefarious and inhuman traffic 1. Several gentlemen in London, to whom he communicated the design, became liberal contributors and adventurers for its execution. Three good ships were immediately provided, and with these and one hundred men Hawkins sailed to the coast of Guinea 2, where, by money, treachery, and force, he procured at least three hundred negroes, and sold them at Hispaniola 3.

1564.

The civil wars in France, among other causes, had prevented the conveyance of the promised succour to the French colony at Port Royal. Peace being now concluded, and admiral Coligny informing the king, that he had received no intelligence of the men, whom Ribault had left in Florida, expressing concern at the same time, that they should be left there to perish; the king consented, that he should cause three

1 He made several voyages to the Canary Islands, "and there by his good and upright dealing being growen in love and favour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition of the state of the West India, whereof he had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the advertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured that NEGROES were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of negroes might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea, resolved with himself to make trial thereof." Hakluyt, iii. 500.

2 He sailed from England in October 1562; touched at Teneriffe, and proceeded to Sierra Leona.

3 Hakluyt, i. 521, 522, where there is an entire account of this voyage. Hawkins sold his negroes at three places in Hispaniola; the port of Isabella; Port de Plata; and Monte Christi; and received in exchange, "such quantity of merchandise, that he did not only lade his owne 3 shippes with hides, ginger, sugers, and some quantity of pearles, but he fraighted also 2 other hulkes with hides, and other like commodities, which he sent into Spain." Ibid. Anderson [Hist. Com. ii. 117.] says, "this seems to have been the very first attempt from England for any negro trade," [See p. 28, 35, of these Annals.] Purchas, v. 1179. Biog. Britan. *Art.* HAWKINS. Joselyn, Voy. 238. Keith, Hist. Virginia 31. Stow [Chron. 807.] informs us, that Hawkins in his youth had studied the mathematics; and that "he went to Guinea and Hispaniola, which then was most strange and wonderful, by reason he wast he first Englishman that discovered and taught the way into those parts.

ships

ships to be furnished and sent out to their relief. M. Renè Laudonniere, appointed by the king, on the recommendation of the admiral, to the command of the ships, sailed in April for Florida, and arrived on the twenty-fifth of June at the river of May. After sailing northward about ten leagues, and holding intercourse with the natives, stopping short of Port Royal [1], where Ribault's company had been left, he sailed back to the river of May, where he built a fort, which, in honour of Charles, the French king, he called Caroline [2]. His ships returned in July to France [3].

1565.

Ribault, who had been appointed governor to supersede Laudonniere, arriving at Florida with seven sail of vessels, took all the best of the men at Fort Caroline for an expedition against a Spanish fleet, and left Laudonniere with the charge of the Fort, without the means of defence [4]. At this juncture

1 Much error and confusion had been avoided by historians, had they but carefully observed the traverse sailing of Laudonniere. "Wee sayled [from the river of May] toward the river of Seine, distant from the river of May about foure leagues: and there continuing our course towarde the North, wee arrived at the mouth of Somme, which is not past sixe leagues distant from the river of Seine, where wee cast anker, and went on shoare." Here the company consulted together respecting the place, which they should choose for "plaunting their habitation;" whether toward the Cape of Florida, or at Port Royal. "If wee passed farther toward the North to seeke out Port Royall, it would be neither very profitable nor convenient; although the haven were one of the fairest of the West Indies; but that in this case the question was not so much of the beautie of the place, as of things necessary to sustaine life. And that for our inhabiting it was more needefull for us to plant in places plentiful of victual, than in goodly Havens, faire, deepe, and pleasant to the view." The conclusion was, "That it was expedient to seate themselves rather on the River of May than on any other, untill they might hear newes out of France." Hakluyt, iii. 323, 324.

2 It stood not above two leagues distance from the mouth of the river. Hakluyt, iii. 336.

3 Hakluyt, iii. 319, 325, 329. Purchas, i. 770; v. 1603, 1604. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 35—40. Univ. Hist. xl. 395, 396. Europ. Settlements, ii. 235. The English writers in general mistake in supposing *Fort Caroline* to have been built in the English Carolina. It was built in the French and Spanish Florida. [Univ. Hist. xl. 419.] It has been confounded probably with *Fort Charles*. See A. D. 1562. Du Pratz egregiously errs, when he affirms, that the ruins of Fort Caroline are visible *near Pensacola*. Hist Louisiane, i. 3. *See page* 85, *note* 1.

4 Hakluyt, iii. 354. On mustering his men, this is the account he gives of them: "I found nine or ten of them, whereof not past two or three had ever drawen sword out of a scabbard, as I thinke. Of the nine

juncture Pedro Melendez was on his way to Florida, in execution of an enterprize in the service of Philip II. of Spain, who had given him command of a fleet and army, with full power to drive the Huguenots out of Florida, and settle it with good Catholics [1]. Arriving at Florida, he massacred Ribault [2], and all the company, excepting Laudonniere and a few others who escaped to France [3]. Melendez now built three

there were foure but young striplings, which served captaine Ribault and kept his dogs. The fifte was a cooke. Among those that were without the fort, and which were of the foresaid company of captaine Ribault there was a Carpenter of three score yeeres olde, one a Beere-brewer, one olde Crosse-bowe maker, two Shoomakers, and four or five men that had their wives, a player on the Virginals, two servants of Monsieur du Lys, one of Monsieur de Beauhaire, one of Monsieur de la Grange, and about four score and five or sixe in all, counting as wel Lackeys as women and children. Those that were left me of mine owne company were aboute sixteene or seventeene that could beare armes, and all of them poore and leane: the rest were sicke and maymed." Ibid.

1 The Spaniards "pretended those territories belonged to them, affirming they were the first discoverers." Mezeray.

2 Ribault, at the first assault, was not far distant, and is said to have "parled with the Spaniards." He set sail with Laudonniere for France 25 September, but was separated from him the next day, and immediately after overtaken with a tempest, "which in fine wrackt him upon the coast where all his shippes were cast away, and he with much adoe escaped drowning, to fall into their hands which cruelly massacred him and all his company." Hakluyt, iii. 355. How many were killed *now*, does not appear; but of Laudonniere's wretched company about 60 appear to have been *previously* massacred. There were, he informs us, 85 or 86 in all. At his first escape from the fort, he found "three or foure" of his men, who had also escaped. When a boat arrived from the ships, to take him off, he went "with the boat along the reeds to seeke out the poor soules which were scattered abroad, where (he says) we gathered up 18 or 20 of them." Ibid.

3 Laudonniere had "fortified and inhabited" in Florida "two summers and one whole winter," or "a year and a quarter, as the French king's lieutenant." Hakluyt, iii. 301, 319. John Hawkins, the slave merchant, was at fort Caroline in August; but it must have been previously to Ribault's arrival. He had made a second voyage to the coast of Guinea the preceding year; and having sold his slaves in the West Indies, stopped at the River of May, on his return home, to water his ships. Laudonniere had been at war with the natives, and had "not above 40 soldiers left unhurt," nor above ten days provision. The soldiers had been obliged to live on acorns and roots, and some of them had served a Floridian king against his enemies, "for mill and other victualles." Hawkins spared them 20 barrels of meal and other necessaries, "to helpe them the better homewards," and a bark of 50 tons; for they had already determined to return to France. On the arrival of Ribault a few days afterward, they changed their purpose; and stopped to be massacred. See Hakluyt, i. 539, 540; iii. 347, 348. Purchas, v. 1604.

forts

forts on the river of May [1], and strongly garrisoned them with Spanish soldiers [2].

1568.

The chevalier Dominique de Gourgues, a soldier of fortune, of a good family in Gascony, hearing of the massacre of his countrymen in Florida, determined to revenge their death, and repair the honour of his nation, by driving their murderers out of that country. On this vindicative enterprize he sailed from France, at his own expence, and without orders, with three frigates and one hundred and fifty soldiers and volunteers, and eighty chosen mariners, to Florida [3]. The Spaniards, to the number of four hundred, were well fortified on the river of May, principally at the great fort begun by the French, and afterwards repaired by themselves. Two leagues lower toward the river's mouth, they had made two smaller forts, which were defended by one hundred and twenty soldiers, well supplied with artillery and ammunition [4]. Gourgues, though informed of their strength, proceeded

1 The authors of Encyclopedie Methodique [Geog. *Art.* FLORIDE] say, that Melendez now made settlements (forma des établissemens) at St. Augustine and Pensacola. If he now built a fort at Pensacola, Du Pratz may have mistaken the ruins of *this*, for the ruins of Fort Caroline. An account in Hakluyt [ii. 469.] confirms that of the French Encyclopedie: "The Spaniards [in 1572] have two forts there [Florida,] chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there."

2 Hakluyt, iii. 355. Purchas, i. 770; v. 1604. Chalmers, i. 513. Hewet, S. Carol. & Georg. i. 19. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 100. Mezeray, Hist. France, 700; Melendez, for this act of cruelty, became infamous even among his own countrymen. Disappointed in a naval project ten years afterward, he killed himself. "Eadem tempestate [1575] Petrus Melendes Cantaber, Floridæ victor, sed insigni in Gallos perfidia, apud suos etiam infamis, cum res Americanas Batavicis parum sapienter comparet, Brilam se aliosque portus obsequio redditurum jactabat; et jam parata classe missa in Angliam legatio, quæ littus et hospitum, si eo venti adigerent, oraret impetraretque. Sed subita morbi lues nautas disjecet, et dux ipse edoctus pollicitationes vanitatem, pudore ut creditum, aut metu vitam finiit." Grotii Annales, 63, 64, & *Index*.

3 His equipment, according to Mezeray (who says he had 200 soldiers and 100 seamen,) was made with part of his own estate, which he sold, and with what his brother, President of the Generality of Guyenne, lent him. The reason, assigned by this historian, why the Government of France did not revenge the massacre, is, that the king's Council was half Spanish. Gourgues had recently returned from Africa. Losing no time, he sailed from France in August 1567 to the West Indies, whence, after delays by storms, he proceeded to Florida in the spring of 1568.

4 One of these lower forts must have been on one side of the river, and the other on the other side; for the river "passed between them."

resolutely forward, and with the assistance of the natives, made a vigorous and desperate assault. Of sixty Spaniards in the first fort, there escaped but fifteen; and all in the second fort, were slain. After sixty Spaniards, sallying out from the third fort, had been intercepted, and killed on the spot, this last fortress was easily taken. All the surviving Spaniards were led away prisoners, with the fifteen who escaped the massacre at the first fort; and, after having been shown the injury, that they had done to the French nation, were hung on the boughs of the same trees, on which the Frenchmen had been previously hung. Over those devoted Frenchmen Melendez had suspended a Spanish label, signifying, "I do not this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." Gourgues, in retaliation, caused to be imprinted with a searing iron in a tablet of fir wood, "I do not this as to Spaniards, nor as to Mariners, but as to Traitors, Robbers, and Murderers [1]." Having razed the three forts [2], he hastened his preparation to return;

1 Charlevoix [Nouv. France, i. 103, 104.] justly condemns this barbarous retaliation: "Je ne crains pas de dire que l'expedition de Chevalier de Gourgues, jusques-là si glorieuse pour lui, et si honorable pour la Nation, auroit été infiniment plus relevée par une conduite, où sa modération, et la générosité Françoise eût fait un beau contraste avec l'inhumanité des Espagnols, qu'en la terminant avec la même fureur, qu'il détestoit en eux." He pertinently cites the reply, made by Pausanias, king of Sparta, to a citizen of Ægina, who had proposed to him, as what would immortalize his name, to hang the dead body of Mardonius on a gallows, in revenge for the like indignity, shown to Leonidas by Mardonius and Xerxes: "Thou must have a very wrong notion of true glory, to imagine that the way for me to acquire it is to resemble the Barbarians." The observation of the *Catholic* historian may have been as sincere and disinterested, as it is just and generous; it is difficult however to forget, that they were *Huguenots*, whose Massacre Gourgues revenged; and that P. De Charlevoix was "de la Compagnie de Jesus" [a Jesuit,] one of whose avowed tenets is, That faith is not to be kept with heretics.

2 "Considering he had not men inough to keepe his fortes which he had wonne, much less to store them, fearing also lest the Spaniard which hath dominions neere adjoining should renew his forces, or the Savages should prevail against the French men, unlesse his Majestie would send thither, he resolved to raze them. And indeede, after he had assembled, and in the ende perswaded all the Savage kings so to doe, they caused their subjects to runne thither with such affection, that they overthrew all the three Forts flatte even with the ground in one day." Hakluyt, iii. 359, 360. Du Pratz [Hist. Louisiane, i. 4.] says, that Gourgues established a new post before his return to France; but that the disorders in that kingdom did not permit its support. The account in Hakluyt, on which I rely, makes no mention of it. "Finding his ships set in order, and every thing ready to set sayle, hee counselled the kings to continue in the amitie and ancient league which they had made with the king of France, which would

return; and on the third of May embarked for France [1]. His sovereign not avowing the enterprize, his countrymen now bade Florida a final adieu [2]. If the settlement of Ribault at Port Royal, or that of Laudonniere at the river of May, had been supported by the Parent State, long possession might have furnished a stronger claim to the country, than prior discovery, and France might have had an empire in America, before Britian had sent a single colony into this New World.

The Licenciate Castro, governor of Peru, to discover certain islands in the South Sea on the Peruvian coast, sent out from Lima a fleet, which, sailing eight hundred leagues westward of the coast, found a cluster of islands in eleven degrees south latitude, to which the governor gave the name of Solomon Islands [3].

1572.

Francis Drake, the celebrated English navigator, made his first voyage to South America. Entering the port of Nombre de Dios with four pinnaces, he landed about one hundred and fifty men, seventy of whom he left in a fort, that was there; and with the remaining eighty surprized the town, but was soon repelled by the Spaniards. He next sailed into Darien harbour, where he landed, and intercepted two companies of mules, laden with gold and silver, on the way from Pana-

would defend them against all nations; which they all promised, shedding teares because of his departure, *Olacatara* especially; for appeasing of whom he promised them to returne within twelve moons, (so they count the yeeres) and that his king would send them an army, and store of knives for presents, and all other things necessary."

1 Hakluyt, iii. 356—360; and Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 95—106; where there are entire accounts of this voyage. Mezeray, Hist. France, 701. Chalmers, i. 513. Purchas, v. 1604, 1605. Univ. Hist. xl. 413—417. Anderson, ii. 127. He arrived at Rochel 6 June, with the loss but of a small pinnace and 8 men in it, with a few gentlemen and others, who were slain in assaulting the forts. Hakluyt. When Gourgues went to Paris to present himself to the king, to inform him of the success of his voyage, and to offer him "his life and all his goods" toward subduing this whole country to his obedience, he met with an ill reception, and was constrained to hide himself a long time in the court of Roan, "about the year 1570." He died in 1582, "to the great grief of such as knew him." Hakluyt, iii. 360. Purchas, v. 1605.

2 Chalmers, i. 513.

3 Hakluyt, iii. 467. Purchas, v. 1447. This name was given, that the Spaniards, supposing them to be those islands, from which Solomon fetched gold to adorn the temple at Jerusalem, might be the more desirous to go and inhabit them. Ibid.

ma to Nombre de Dios; took off the gold; and soon after re-embarked [1].

The king of Spain gave the islands of Bermudas to one of his subjects; but the Spaniards never took possession of them [2].

1575.

John Oxenham, an Englishman, hearing what spoil captain Drake had brought from South America, made a voyage, accompanied by seventy persons, in a ship of one hundred and twenty tons. Landing his men at Darien, where he hauled his ship to the shore, and covered it with boughs of trees, he travelled twelve leagues into the main land, and built a pinnace on a river, by which he passed into the South Sea. After taking some Spanish prizes, he and his company were made prisoners by the Spaniards, and executed [3].

1576.

All attempts to find a North East passage to India having been unsuccessful, queen Elizabeth sent out Martin Frobisher with three small ships, for the discovery of a North West passage. Arriving at the northerly coast of America he discovered a cape, which he called Elizabeth's Foreland; and the Strait, which still bears his name. This strait being impassable, on account of fixed ice, he entered a bay in north latitude sixty-three degrees; sailed sixty leagues; landed, and

1 Hakluyt, iii. 525, 526, 778, 779. He took away the gold only, "for they were not able to carrie the silver through the mountaines." Ibid. Two days after this spoliation, he came to the house of Crosses, and burnt above 200,000 ducats in merchandize. Purchas, v. 1180.

2 Univ. Hist. xli. 339.

3 Hakluyt, iii. 526—528; 779—781. The Justice asked the English captain, Whether he had the Queen's licence, or the licence of any Prince or Lord. He answered, That he had none, but that he came of his own proper motion. On this acknowledgement, the captain and his company were condemned, and were all put to death at Panama, excepting the Captain, the Master, and the Pilot, and five boys, who were carried to Lima, and there the three men were executed, but the boys were spared. Ibid. and Purchas, v. 1180, 1446.

took

took one of the natives [1]; but the ice obliged him to relinquish his enterprize, and return to England [2].

1577.

The discovery of supposed gold ore by Frobisher in his voyage the last year [3] encouraged the Society of Adventurers to send him out with three other ships, to explore farther the coast of Labrador and Greenland, with an ultimate view to the discovery of a passage to India; but he again returned without success [4].

1 Frobisher, having made presents to the inhabitants (supposed northward of Labrador,) they came on board his ship. Five sailors, sent to take ashore one of these visitants, went, contrary to orders, to the natives, and neither they nor the boat were ever seen afterward. This was therefore called, The Five Men's Sound. The English upon this, enticed one of the natives to the ship's side, with a bell, and in giving it to him, took him and his boat. Finding himself now in captivity, "for very choler and disdaine he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth." He died soon after his arrival in England. Hakluyt.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 29—32; 57—60. Purchas, i. 739. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 101. Smith, Gen. Hist. Virginia, 1. Stow, Chron. 680. Belknap, Biog. i. 37. Europ. Settlements, ii. 286. Univ. Hist. xli. 100. Harris, Voy. i. 575. Forster, Voy. 274. Anderson [ii. 126.] places this voyage in 1567; but the accounts in Hakluyt prove it to have been made in 1576. After several attempts to land with the boat, which were baffled by the ice, Frobisher commanded his people, if they could possibly get ashore, "to bring him whatsoever thing they could first find, whether it were living or dead, stocke or stone, in token of Christian possession." Some of his company brought flowers; some, green grass; and one brought a piece of black stone, "much like to a sea cole in colour, which by the waight seemed to be some kinde of metall or minerall." Hakluyt. This stone was tried by the London goldsmiths; and was pronounced to be richly impregnated with gold; but while it incited adventurers to new enterprizes, it totally baffled their hopes. Ibid. Anderson, ii. 127, 143.

3 See the preceding note.

4 Hakluyt, iii. 32—39; 60—73. Harris, Voy. i. 575—577. Forster, Voy. 274. Univ. Hist. xli. 101. He sailed 30 May from Harwich with one ship of 200 tons, belonging to the queen, two small barks, and 120 men. With the professed object of the voyage in our view, we are struck with the style of the voyager: "Aboard the *Ayde* we received all the Communion by the minister of Gravesend, and prepared us *as good Christians towarde God, and resolute men for all fortunes.*" Near Frobisher's Strait Frobisher found abundance of glittering stones and sand, that he had seen in the last voyage, and put nearly 200 tons of them on board his vessels. With the ore he carried to England a man, a woman, and child of the natives; "but neither the man, woman, nor childe lived long; nor his gold proved ore, but drosse." Stow, Chron. In this voyage he searched for the five men, left behind the last year, and promised rewards for their restoration; but he received no intelligence concerning them.

On

On the Newfoundland fishery there were this year one hundred ships from Spain, fifty from Portugal, one hundred and fifty from France, and fifty from England. The English had the best ships, and therefore gave law to the rest, being in the bays the protectors of others [1]. The fishery of the English at Iceland is assigned as the reason, why they had not a greater number of ships at Newfoundland. There were now at that island twenty or thirty ships from Biscay, to kill whales for train oil [2].

1578.

Frobisher, with fifteen sail of ships, made another voyage to the nothernmost parts of the continent of America, with the design of forming a settlement in the country. The adventurers carried with them the frame of a strong house, to be set up there; but on their arrival, they found it necessary to relinquish the design. Leaving that inhospitable region, their fleet was separated by a furious storm on the very night after their embarkation; but every ship at length arrived in England. Forty persons died on the voyage [3].

Francis Drake, on an enterprizing voyage [4], having gone through the Straits of Magellan, rifled the town of St. Jago in

1 "For which it was then, and had been of old, a custom to make them some sort of acknowledgement as admirals; such as, a boat load of salt for guarding them from pirates, and other violent intruders, who often drive them from a good harbour." Anderson, ii. 144. See Hakl. iii. 132.

2 Anderson, ii. 144, from Hakluyt. But he errs in saying, the English had but 15 sail in the fishery. A. Parkhurst, from whom Anderson's account is derived, says, the English "since my first travell, being but 4 yeeres, are increased from 30 sayle to 50." See Hakluyt, i. 674; iii. 132. Parkhurst (ibid.) expresses a wish to Hakluyt, his correspondent, that the island in the month of the river of Canada might be inhabited, and the river searched; "for that there are many things that may arise thereof."

3 Hakluyt, iii. 39—44; 74—93. Harris, Voy. i. 578, 579. Anderson, ii. 143. It was the plan of the voyage, that all the ships should return at the close of the summer, laden with gold ore, excepting three, the three captains of which, with 40 mariners, 30 miners, and 30 soldiers were to "tarry in the country." "They fraught their shippes with the like pretended gold ore out of the mines," as on the last voyage, "but after great charges, it proved worse than good stone, whereby many men were deceived, to their utter undoings." Stow, Chron. 685.

4 He sailed from Plymouth in England 13 December, 1577, with a fleet of five ships and barks, and 164 men, "gentlemen and sailers;" and completed his voyage round the world 3 November, 1580. This was the second circumnavigation of the globe. Purchas, [v. 1180.] A. D. 1625 says, "The reliques of the shippe," in which this voyage was made, "or some bones at

in Chili [1], and other places on the western coast of South America. In some of the harbours of this coast, he seized on ships, which had not a single person on board, so unsuspicious were the Spaniards of an enemy there. Having at length taken an immensely rich prize, and all his treasure being embarked in one vessel; to avoid the danger of being intercepted by the Spaniards in an attempt to return by the Magellannic Straits, he determined to sail to the Moluccas, and return home by the Cape of Good Hope. Sailing first to the north to obtain a good wind, he discovered a harbour, which his called Drake's Port. He also took possession of the circumjacent country, between thirty-eight and forty-two degrees north latitude, and called it New Albion [2]. "This possession was taken with the best right in the world, the principal king formally investing him with his principality [3]."

Queen

at least of that glorious carkasse, yet remayne at Deptford consecrated to Fame and Posteritie." At a feast on board this ship queen Elizabeth knighted "this noble mariner," after his arrival in England. Idem, ibid. The first circumnavigation of the earth was made by the ship of Magellan nearly 60 years before. See A. D. 1520, p. 46. After Magellan entered the Pacific Ocean, he sailed northwesterly 3000 leagues, and 13 March, 1521, discovered the Philippine Islands, in one of which he was killed by the natives. John Sebastian del Cano, afterward chosen captain, conducted the remainder of the voyage, which was finished 6 September, 1521. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 85. The famous ship, called the Victory, was the only one of Magellan's squadron, that returned to Spain. Charlevoix, Paraguay, i. 30.

1 Harris, Voy. i. 20. Hakluyt, iii. 735. The inhabitants, consisting of not more than 9 housholds, abandoned the town on the approach of the English. Ibid. Spanish plunder was in fact, according to Anderson, the principal object of the voyage. Queen Elizabeth however, on the complaint of the Spanish ambassador, caused this spoil, or at least a great part of it, to be sequestered for the use of the king of Spain; but, at the same time, asserted the absolute freedom of her subjects to navigate the Indian seas, equally with the subjects of that king. Anderson, ii. 150. The conduct of Drake still gave great umbrage, and had influence toward a rupture between England and Spain. "Nec minora belli semina tentatus Anglis novus orbis, et in patriam perlatæ quas eripuerant Hispanis opes." Grotii Annales, p. 99. See Camden, Eliz. 254.

2 Harris, Voy. i. 19—23. Hakluyt, iii. 440—442, 730—742. Purchas, i. 779. Belknap, Biog. i. 37. Forster, Voy. 452. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 101. Biblioth. Americ. 53. Two reasons are assigned for his giving it this name; one, on account of the white banks and cliffs, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might have some affinity, in name, with England, "which sometimes was so called." Hakluyt, *ut supra*.

3 European Settlements, i. 244. "At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there, as also of her Majesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed upon a faire greate poste, whereupon was ingraven her Majesties name, the day and yeere of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her Majesties

Queen Elizabeth granted letters patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, authorizing him to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands, unoccupied by any Christian prince or people. She vested in him, his heirs, and assigns for ever, the full right of property in the soil of those countries, of which he should take possession, to hold of the crown of England by homage, on payment of the fifth part of the gold or silver ore, found there; conferred complete jurisdiction within the said lands, and seas adjoining them; declared that all, who should settle there, should enjoy all the privileges of free citizens and natives of England, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding; and prohibited all persons from attempting to settle within two hundred leagues of any place, which Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or his associates, should have occupied during the space of six years. This is the first charter for a colony, granted by the crown of England [1].

1579.

Mr. Cotton, a merchant of South Hampton in England, employed captain Whitburn in a ship of three hundred tons, to fish for cods on the great bank at Newfoundland; but the excess of cold obliged him to put into Trinity harbour, at that island, where, by fish and other commodities, he cleared the expence of the voyage [2].

1580.

New Mexico, between twenty-eight and twenty-nine degrees north latitude, was dicovered by Augustin Ruys, a Spanish Franciscan missionary [3].

Majesties hands, together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our Generall." Hakluyt, *ut supra.*

1 Hakluyt, i. 677—679; iii. 135—137; Hazard, Collect. i. 24—28; Brit. Emp. *Introd.* p. viii—xiv: where this patent is inserted entire. Smith, Virginia, p. 4. Belknap, Biog. i. 198. Forster, Voy. 289. Biog. Britann. *Art.* GILBERT Robertson, book ix. p. 36. Anderson, ii. 167.

2 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 248. Whitburn repeated the voyage, and was at Newfoundland when Sir Humphrey Gilbert arrived there in 1583. Ibid.

3 Encyclop. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* MEXIQUE (nouveau.) Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. p. xxv. Fastes Chron. Charlevoix (ibid.) says, that Antoine de Espejo, a Spaniard, in 1582, made discoveries to the north of New Spain, additional to those of Ruys, and gave to all that grand country the name of New Mexico.

1581.

The French trade to Canada was renewed after an interruption of nearly fifty years [1].

1582.

Edward Fenton, an Englishman, with a fleet of four sail, embarked for the East Indies and China by the west; but proceeded no farther than to the coast of Brasil, to the thirty-third degree south latitude [2].

1583.

Sir Humphery Gilbert, in virtue of his letters patent from queen Elizabeth, had already attempted a voyage to America, which, through various unpropitious circumstances, was frustrated [3]. This worthy knight, with his characteristic reso-

1 Hakluyt, iii. 187. The cause of this interruption was the outrage of Cartier and his company, in carrying off an Indian king in 1535. [See p. 68, note 3.] "This outrage and injurious dealing did put the whole countrey people into such dislike with the French, as never since they would admit any conversation or familiaritie with them, until of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since [i. e. 1581] was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following by those Marchants who meant to have kept the trade secret unto themselves from any others of their owne countrey men, there was hired a shippe of four score tunnes out of the Isle of Jersey, but not any one mariner of that place, saving a shipboy." Hakluyt, iii. 187. See A. D. 1583.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 757—768, where there is an account of this voyage.

3 Some writer [Biog. Britan. if I rightly remember] says, that Gilbert in this *first* attempt, reached Newfoundland. [See Coll. Hist. Soc. ix. 52.] E. Haies in Hakluyt [iii. 146.] does not mention his arrival at any land. By his account it appears, that the dispositions of the numerous volunteers, who offered to accompany Gilbert in that voyage, were so various, that dissensions arose, "and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea: where having tasted of no lesse misfortune he was shortly driven to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman *Miles Morgan*." Oldys thinks, he has not only reason to believe, that his misfortune "was by a sharp encounter they had with the Spaniards, however tenderly touched at that time by this author (Haies), perhaps to avoid their triumph; but that Ralegh was in this very engagement,

resolution and perseverance, now resuming the enterprize, sailed from England for Newfoundland with two ships and three barks [1], carrying about two hundred and sixty men [2]. On the discovery of land in about fifty-one degrees north latitude, finding nothing but bare rocks, he shaped his course to the southward, came in sight of Penguin island [3], and proceeded to the bay of St. John. At St. John's harbour (Newfoundland) he found thirty-six vessels of various nations, which refused him entrance. On his information however of his commission from the queen of England, they submitted; and he took possession of the harbour of St. John, and two hundred leagues every way around it, for the crown of England. He then published three laws for the government of the territory. By the first, public worship was established according to the church of England; by the second, the attempting of any thing prejudical to her majestie's title was declared treason according to the laws of England; by the third, the uttering of words to the dishonour of her majesty was to be punished with the loss of ears, and the confiscation of property [4]. This formal possession, in consequence of the

gagement, and his life in great danger thereby." Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, prefixed to his History of the World, p. xiii.

1 One of them, a bark of 200 tons, was built, victualled and manned by Sir W. Raleigh, who according to Oldys, set out in it to accompany his brother, in the quality of vice admiral; but in two or three days (13 June) this bark, on account of a contagious sickness, which infected the whole ship's company, returned to Plymouth. Hakluyt, iii. 149.

2 "Among whom," says Haies, "we had of every faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smithes, and such like, requisit to such an action: also minerall men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Savages, we were provided of Musike in good varietie: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, hobby horsse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Savage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all pettie haberdashrie wares to barter with those simple people. Hakluyt, iii. 149.

3 Not the island of that name, seen by Hore in 1536. That is on the southern coast of Newfoundland; *this* on the *eastern*, and is now called Fogo. Forster, Voy. *Note*, p. 293.

4 Obedience was promised to the laws, now proclaimed, "by generall voyce and consent of the multitude as well of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and governement begun." The assembly was then dismissed; "and afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrayen in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood." For the farther establishment of this possession the general granted "in fee farme" several parcels of land, lying by the water side, both in the harbour of St. John, and elsewhere: "For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certaine rent and service unto Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for ever, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes." Ibid.

discovery

discovery by the Cabots, is considered by the English, as the foundation of the right and the title of the Crown of England to the territory of Newfoundland, and to the fishery on its banks.

Gilbert, intending to bring the southern parts of the country within the compass of his patent, the date of which was now nearly expired, hastened his preparations to return to England. Intending however, previously to his departure, to make farther discoveries on the coast toward the south, he embarked from St. John's harbour with his little fleet, and sailed for the Isle of Sable by the way of Cape Breton. After spending eight days in the navigation from Cape Race toward Cape Breton [1], the ship Admiral was cast away on some shoals before any discovery of land, and nearly one hundred souls perished. Of this number was Stephen Parmenius Budeius, a learned Hungarian, who had accompanied the adventurers to record their discoveries and exploits [2]. Two days after this disaster, no land yet appearing, the waters being shallow, the coast unknown, the navigation obviously dangerous, and the provisions scanty, it was concluded by the general and the company to return to England. Changing their course accordingly, they passed in sight of Cape Race on the second of September, and on the ninth, when they had sailed more than three hundred leagues on their way home, the frigate, on board of which was Sir Humphery Gilbert, foundered in a violent storm at midnight, and all the souls on board perished [3].

1 The distance between Cape Race and Cape Breton is 87 leagues. Hakluyt, iii. 155.

2 Haies says, it was the intention of Parmenius "to record in the Latine tongue the gests [*exploits*, from the Latin word *gesta*] and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator and rare Poet of our time." Hakluyt, iii. 156. See an account of this learned Hungarian, with a poem, which he wrote in England in celebration of the projected Voyage, in the Collections of Mass. Hist. Society, ix. 49—75. In that account there is a small error. Parmenius is there said to have been lost *with* Gilbert; but he was lost in the ship Admiral several days *before*. It was natural to suppose, that Gilbert was on board the Admiral; but, on careful inspection, it appears that he was not. "The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the *Squirrell*, the same being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbour or creeke, which a great ship could not doe." Hakluyt, iii. 163.

3 Hakluyt, i. 679—699; iii. 148—166. Harris, Voy. i. 583—586, 860. Forster, Voy. 292, 298. Hazard, Coll. i. 32 Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 102. Belknap, Biog. i. 37. Stith, Virg. 6. Univ. Hist. xli. 86. Biog. Britann. *Art.* GILBERT.

Sir

Sir Adrian Gilbert obtained from queen Elizabeth a patent for the discovery of a Northwest passage to China, to remain in force five years, by the title of, The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the Northwest Passage [1].

The renewal of the French trade with Canada, two years since, was so auspicious, that the French had now three ships, one of a hundred and eighty tons, one of a hundred tons, and one of eighty, employed in that trade [2].

1584.

Sir Walter Ralegh, observing that the Spaniards had only settled on the middle and southern parts of America, and that there was vast extent of territory north of the gulf of Mexico, that was yet unknown, after mature deliberation, resolved on its discovery. Having digested a plan for prosecuting the design, he laid it before the queen and council, to whom it appeared a rational, practicable, and generous undertaking. The queen accordingly gave him a patent, granting him free liberty to discover such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him should seem good; with prerogatives and jurisdictions as ample, as had been granted to his brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert [3].

On the reception of this patent, Ralegh sent Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, two experienced commanders, to explore the country, called by the Spaniards Florida. Sailing from the west of England on the twenty-seventh of April, they arrived at the West Indies on the tenth of June. Proceeding soon after to the continent, they arrived at the American coast on the fourth of July, and sailed along the shore one hundred and twenty miles, before they could find an entrance by any river, issuing into the sea. Coming to one at length, they entered it; and having manned their boats, and viewed the adjoining land, they took formal possession of the country for the queen of England, delivering it over to the use of Sir Walter Ralegh. This proved to be the island of Wocokon, on the

1 Hakluyt, i. 774—776; iii. 96—98, where are entire copies of the patent. Belknap, Biog. i. 38. Anderson [ii. 157.] says, this "scheme ended in nothing at all."

2 Hakluyt, iii. 187. See A. D. 1581.

3 After the death of Sir H. Gilbert's father, his mother maried Walter Ralegh, Esq. of Fardel; and by him was the mother of Sir Walter Ralegh. An entire copy of Ralegh's patent is in Hakluyt, iii. 243—245; Hazard, Coll. i. 33—38; and Brit. Emp. *Introd.* i. p. xv—xix. It was "to continue the space of six yeeres, and no more."

borders

borders of which they remained two days without seeing any people of the country. On the third day three of the natives came in a boat to the side of the island near the English, who persuaded one of them to go on board their ships, where they gave him a shirt, and various toys. The next day there came to them several boats, in one of which was Granganimeo, a brother of the king of the country, with about forty men [1]; and to this princely personage, whom his attendants treated with profound respect, they made presents of such things, as pleased him [2]. A day or two after they trafficked with the natives. The king's brother afterwards went on board the ships, accompanied by his wife and children. After this friendly intercourse, Barlow and seven of his men went twenty miles through Pamlico sound to Roanoke, an island near the mouth of Albemarle Sound, where they found a village, consisting of nine houses, built with cedar, and fortified with sharp trees. In the absence of Granganimeo, who lived here, they were entertained with peculiar kindness by his wife. While partaking of the refreshment, that she prepared for them, they were so alarmed by two or three of the natives, who came in from hunting, as to be ready to take up their arms, to repel them; but she instantly caused some of her men to go out, and take away their bows and arrows, and break them, and beat those Indians out of the gate. This generous woman, concerned to see the English in the evening putting off from the shore, carried a supper, half dressed, and delivered it at the boat side, with the pots in which it was cooked. Perceiving their continued distrust, she ordered several men, and thirty women, to sit on the bank, as a guard to them through

1 "The maner of his comming was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did, a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long matte upon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee never mooved from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor never mistrusted any harme to be offred from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of joy and welcome." Hakluyt, iii. 247.

2 "When we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinnne dish most pleased him, which he presently tooke up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signs that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes.—We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie crownes, or twentie nobles; and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fiftie crownes." Hakluyt, iii. 247.

the night, and sent several fine mats, to screen them from the weather. The ships, the fire arms, the clothes, and especially the complexions, of the English, excited the admiration of these tawny aboriginals, and produced a sort of magical influence, which procured from them these extraordinary tokens of respect and hospitality. After spending a few weeks in trafficking with the people, and in visiting some parts of the continent, the adventurers returned to England, carrying with them two of the natives. On their arrival, they gave such splendid descriptions of the beauty and fertility of the country, and of the mildness of the climate, that Elizabeth, delighted with the idea of occupying so fine a territory, bestowed on it the name of Virginia 1, as a memorial that this happy discovery was made under a virgin queen.

1585.

Sir Walter Ralegh sent out from England a fleet of seven sail, with people to form a settlement in Virginia; deputing Sir Richard Grenville to be general of the expedition, and Mr. Ralph Lane to be governor of the colony. Sailing from Plymouth on the ninth of April, they proceeded to Virginia by the way of the West Indies, and anchored at Wocokon the twenty-sixth of June. From this island Grenville went to the continent, accompanied by several gentlemen; was absent from the fleet eight days; and in that time discovered several Indian towns. He then sailed to Cape Hatteras, where he was visited by Granganimeo, the prince, seen by Amadas and Barlow the proceeding year 3. He next sailed to the island of Roanoke, where he remained a short time, and then embarked for England, leaving one hundred and seven persons under the government of Mr. Lane to begin a plantation. This was the first English colony ever planted in America 4. Gren-

1 It has since been called North Carolina; and the original name is applied to the adjoining country on the north east. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 102.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 246—251. Purchas, i. 755. Smith, Virg. 2—4. Beverly, 4. Stith, 9, 11, 31. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 102. Stow, Chron. 1018. Brit. Emp. iii. 35. Robertson, book ix. 39, 40. Belknap, Biog. i. 138. Oldys' Life of Ralegh, 23—25.

3 Although the short journal of this voyage in Hakluyt gives no account of what passed between Granganimeo and Grenville, Oldys supposes, the settlement of the English in the country was then agreed on to their mutual satisfaction.

4 Hakluyt, iii. 251—255. Smith, Virg. 5. Beverly, 6, 11. Stith, 12. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 237. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 103. Robertson, book ix.

Grenville, at his departure for England, sailed northeasterly, and discovered the coast from Roanoke to the country of the Chesepeaks, one hundred and thirty miles [1].

Sir Bernard Drake, a Devonshire knight, with a squadron of English ships, was now sent to Newfoundland, where he took several Potuguese ships, laden with fish, oil, and furs, and carried them, as good and lawful prizes, to England [2].

Some merchants and gentlemen of landed property in England, with some noblemen, belonging to the court, formed an association, and sent out two barks for discovery, under the command of John Davis, an experienced navigator. Leaving Dartmouth in June, he sailed up to sixty-six degrees forty minutes north latitude, in the strait, which bears his name, and explored the western coast of Greenland, and part of the opposite coast of the continent of America, between which two coasts the strait runs. Anchoring here under a large mountain, he named it Mount Ralegh. He viewed Terra de Labrador, and the more notherly coasts; and discovered Gilbert's Sound, and the straits, which he afterward called Cumberland Straits [3].

ix. 42. Biog. Britann. *Art.* GREENVILLE. Brit. Emp. *Introd.* i. 20; iii. 36. Birch, Life of Raleigh* prefixed to his Works, p. xv. Oldys, p. xxviii. The names of these first colonists are in Hakluyt, *ut supra*; and in Hazard, Coll. i. 38, 39. This settlement of the English was begun seventeen years after the French had abandoned Florida, on the same coast, but far to the north of the settlements, for which France and Spain had contended.

1 Ibid. The colony, that he left in Virginia, discovered, from 17 August, 1585, to 18 June, 1586, so far to the south, as Secotan, 80 miles distant from Roanoke, and to the northwest so far as Chawanook, distant from Roanoke about 130 miles. Hakluyt, iii. 258.

2 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 248. Anderson, ii. 162. Forster [294.] ascribes it to the strength of Spain, Portugal, and France, that the English did not venture before to dispute with them the title to this fishery. Anderson simply considers this, as an act against a nation at open war, "Portugal being now united to Spain." Forster erroneously says Sir *Francis*, instead of Sir *Bernard* Drake.

3 Hakluyt, iii. 98—103, where the writer of the voyage says, "we ankered in a very faire rode under a brave mount, the cliffes whereof were as orient as golde." Harris, Voy. i. 579, 589. Purchas, i. 741. Forster, Voy. 298—301. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 103. Univ. Hist. xli. 86. Europ. Settlements, ii. 286. Belknap, Biog. i. 38.

* *Thus Birch and most others write this name; but I follow Oldys, who saw it written "by his own hand."*

1586.

Queen Elizabeth, now at war with Spain, was advised to attack her settlements in America, and to surprize the Spanish galeons. In prosecution of this scheme, private adventurers in England fitted out a fleet of twenty sail, with two thousand three hundrsd soldiers and mariners, under the command of Sir Francis Drake [1]. This distinguished naval commander, on his arrival at the West Indies, captured and pillaged the city of St. Domingo; and, sailing over to the continent, took the city of Carthagena, and obliged the inhabitants to ransom it. Leaving Carthagena, and sailing by the coast of Florida, he sacked St. John's fort, near St. Augustine. He next sailed for Virginia, to visit the English colony, recently planted there, and arrived off the coast on the ninth of June. Discovering a distant fire, he sent his skiff ashore with some of his men, who found several of their countrymen of that colony, and took them on board their ships. By their direction, the fleet proceeded the next day to the place, which the English colonists made their port; but some the ships, being of too great draught to enter, anchored about two miles from the shore [2]. From this place Drake, who had been told, that the colony was in distress for want of provision, wrote a letter to governor Lane, then at his fort at Roanoke, about six leagues distant, making him an offer of supplies. The next day Mr. Lane and some of his company going on board the fleet, Drake made two proposals: either to leave them a ship, a pinnace, and several boats, with sufficient masters and mariners, furnished with a month's provisions, to stay and make farther discovery of the country and coasts, and so much additional provision, as would be sufficient to carry them all into England; or, to give them a passage home in his fleet [3]. The first proposal was gratefully accepted. A ship was accordingly selected by Drake, and delivered to the colonists; but before the provisions were entirely received on board, there arose a great storm, that continued three days, and endangered the whole fleet. Many cables were broken, and many anchors lost; and some of the ships, of which number was that, destined for the use of the colonists, were compelled to put to sea. Drake now generously making the colony an offer of another ship

1 The fleet sailed 12 September, 1585; stopped at the islands of Cape de Verd; and arrived at Hispaniola 1 January, 1586. Hakluyt. Prince.

2 "Without the harbour in a wilde roade at sea." Hakluyt.

3 The whole colony now consisted of 103 persons. Ibid.

with

with provisions, or of a passage home; governor Lane and the principal persons with him, having considered what was expedient, requested the general, under their hands, that they might have a passage to England. The rest of their company were now sent for; the whole colony was taken on board; and the fleet, sailing from the coast of Virginia on the eighteenth of June, arrived on the twenty-eighth of July at the English harbour of Portsmouth [1].

The Virginian colonists had been in great danger from the machinations of the Indians, who at first intended to starve them by abandoning them, and leaving the island unsown. The submission of Okisko, king of Weopomeok (in March,) by which he and his people became tributaries to the queen of England, had great influence in defeating that design; for Pemisapan, who projected it, was, on that occasion, persuaded by his aged father Ensenore, an Indian king, to plant a large quantity of ground on the island and main land. Ensenore dying on the twentieth of April, Pemisapan, who succeeded him in the government, next formed a conspiracy for the general massacre of the colonists. This however was frustrated by the vigilance of the English governor, who contrived a counterplot; in execution of which Pemisapan was slain on the first of June, ten days only before the arrival of Sir Francis Drake. The fears of the colonists appear now to have subsided. But the hope of finding a rich mine in the interior part of the country, which they had already made one attempt to discover, seems to have greatly influenced their wishes to continue longer in Virginia [2]. Little did they know the true sources of wealth. Little did they imagine, that a despicable plant would, at a future period, enrich the inhabitants of this

1 Hakluyt, iii. 263, 264, 528, 534—548, 781. Purchas, i. 755, 757. Beverly, 9. Stith, 47. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 103. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 127. Brit. Emp. *Introd.* i. 21. Of the discoveries of this colony, during its year's residence in Virginia, we might perhaps have had accurate accounts, but for the loss of its papers. The narrator in Hakluyt [iii. 264.] says, when Drake sent his vessels to Roanoke, to fetch away a few persons, who were left there with the baggage, "the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our cards, books, and writings were by the Sailors cast overboord."

2 Hakluyt, iii. 255—263. The mine is said to be "notorious" among the Indians, and to lie up the river of Maratoc. The narrator in Hakluyt calls it "a marveillous and most strange minerall," and adds, "there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst us, to have perfitted this discoverie of the Mine: for that the discoverie of a good Mine by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South Sea, or some way to it, and nothing else can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation."

very territory, which they were ready to pronounce unfit to be inhabited, unless it were found to contain latent treasures of the precious metals.

Had the Virginian adventurers remained but a little time longer at their plantation, they would have received supplies from home; for immediately after their departure, a ship, sent by Sir Walter Ralegh to their relief, arrived at Hatteras, and made diligent search for them; but, not finding them, returned to England. Within fourteen or fifteen days after this ship had left the coast, Sir Richard Grenville arrived at Virginia with three ships with provisions; but searched in vain for the colony, that he had planted. Unwilling to lose possession of the country, so long holden by Englishmen, he left fifteen of his crew to keep possession of the island of Roanoke, and returned to England [1].

Tobacco was now carried into England by Mr. Lane; and Sir Walter Ralegh, a man of gaiety and fashion, adopting the Indian usage of smoking it, and by his interest and example introducing it at court, the pipe soon became fashionable [2].

1587.

1 Hakluyt, iii. 265. Purchas, i. 755. Smith, Virg. 13. Beverly, 11. Belknap, Biog. i. 216, 217. Robertson, book ix. 46. Sir R. Grenville was mortally wounded five years afterward (1591) in an engagement with a Spanish fleet, and died on board the admiral's ship, where he was a prisoner, "highly admired by the very enemy for his extraordinary courage and resolution." Stith, 29.

2 Mr. Thomas Hariot, a man of science and observation, who was with Lane in Virginia, after describing the tobacco plant, says, "the Indians use to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of clay. We ourselves, during the time we were there, used to sucke it after their manner, as also since our return." Camden [Eliz. 324.] says, that these colonists were the first that he knows of, who brought tobacco into England; and adds: "Certainly from that time forward it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate." Oldys [Life Ral. p. 31.] says, the colonists under Lane carried over tobacco "doubtless according to the instructions they had received of their proprietor; for the introduction among us of that commodity is generally ascribed to Ralegh himself." I do not call this the *Introduction* of tobacco into England; because in Stow's Chronicle, [p. 1038.] it is asserted, that Sir John Hawkins carried it thither first in the year 1575. But it was then considered as a mere drug, and that Chronicle tells us, "all men wondered what it meant." The description of the use of tobacco in Florida in Hawkins' voyage of 1565 [Hakluyt, i. 541.] confirms the account of its introduction into England that year: "The Floridans when they travele have a kinde of herbe dryed, which with a cane, and an earthern cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, do sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger." After this particular notice of tobacco in Florida, Hawkins probably carried a specimen of it to England, as a curiosity. This singular plant appears to have been used by the natives

1587.

Sir Walter Ralegh, intent on planting the territory within his patent, equipped three vessels, and sent another company of one hundred and fifty adventurers to Virginia. He incorporated them by the name of, the Borough of Ralegh in Virginia; and constituted John White governor, in whom, with a council of twelve persons, the legislative power was vested; and they were directed to plant at the Bay of Chesepeak, and to erect a fort there. Arriving at Hatteras on the twenty-second of July, the governor with forty of his best men went on board the pinnace, intending to pass up to Roanoke, in the hope of finding the Englishmen, whom Sir Richard Grenville had left there the year before; and, after a conference with them concerning the state of the country and of the Indians, to return to the fleet, and proceed along the coast to the Bay of Chesepeak, according to the orders of Ralegh. But, no sooner had the pinnace left the ship, than a gentleman, instructed by Fernando, the principal naval commander, who was destined to return soon to England, called to the sailors on board the pinnace, and charged them not to bring back any of the planters, excepting the governor and two or three others, whom he approved, but to leave them in the island; for the summer, he observed, was far spent, and therefore he would land all the planters is no other place. The sailors on board the pinnace, as well as those on board the ship, having

tives in all parts of America. In the account of Cartier's voyage in 1535, we find it used in Canada. "There groweth a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great provision for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men use of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beastes skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make pouder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the tonnell of a chimney." Hakluyt, iii. 224. It was used copiously in Mexico, where the natives took it, not only in smoke at the mouth, but also in snuff at the nose. "In order to smoke it, they put the leaves with the gum of liquid amber, and other hot and odorous herbs, into a little pipe of wood or reed, or some other more valuable substance. They received the smoke by sucking the pipe and shutting the nostrils with their fingers, so that it might pass by the breath the more easily towards the lungs." It was such a luxury, that the lords of Mexico were accustomed to compose themselves to sleep with it. Clavigero, i. 439. [See p. 48, note 2, of these Annals.] Clavigero says, "*Tobacco* is a name taken from the *Haitine* language."

been persuaded by the master to this measure, the governor, judging it best not to contend with them, proceeded to Roanoke. At sunset he landed with his men at that place in the island, where the fifteen men were left; but discovered no signs of them, excepting the bones of one man, who had been slain by the savages. The next day the governor and several of his company went to the north end of the island, where governor Lane had erected his fort, and his men had built several decent dwelling houses, the preceding year; hoping to find here some signs, if not the certain knowledge of the fifteen men. But, on coming to the place, and finding the fort rased, and all the houses, though standing unhurt, over-grown with weeds and vines, and deers feeding within them; they returned, in despair of ever seeing their looked for countrymen alive [1]. Orders were given the same day for the repair of the houses, and for the erection of new cottages. All the colony, consisting of one hundred and seventeen persons, soon after landed, and commenced a second plantation. On the thirteenth of August, Manteo, a friendly Indian, who had been to England, was baptized in Roanoke, according to a previous order of Sir Walter Raiegh; and, in reward of his faithful service to the English, was called lord of Roanoke, and of Desamonguepeuk. On the eighteenth Mrs. Dare, a daughter of the governor, and wife of Ananias Dare (one of the Assistants), was delivered of a daughter in Roanoke, who was baptized the next Lord's day by the name of Virginia; because she was the first English child born in the country. On the twenty-seventh of August, at the urgent solicitation of the whole colony, the governor sailed for England to procure supplies; but of his countrymen, whom he left behind, nothing was ever afterward known [2]. Thus terminated the exer-

1 About a week afterward some of the English people going to Croatan were told by the Indians, that the 15 Englishmen, left by Grenville, were suprised by 30 Indians, who, having treacherously slain one of them, compelled the rest to repair to the house, containing their provisions and weapons, which the Indians instantly set on fire; that the English, leaving the house, skirmished with them above an hour; that in this skirmish, another of their number was shot into the mouth with an arrow, and died; that they retired fighting to the water side, where lay their boat, with which they fled toward Hatteras; that they landed on a little island on the right hand of the entrance into the harbour of Hatteras, where they remained awhile, and afterward departed, whither they knew not. Hakluyt, iii. 283, 284.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 280—287, where there is an entire account of this voyage, with the names of all the 117 settlers; of whom 91 were men, 17 women, and 9 children. The two natives (Manteo and Towaye), who went

exertions of Ralegh, for colonizing Virginia, which proved unsuccessful, says Chalmers, "because the enterprize had been undertaken without sufficient information, because the project was new, and the means employed were not equal to the end [1]."

John Davis, having sailed the last year to Labrador [2], now made a third and very important voyage. Sailing from Dartmouth with three vessels [3], one only of which was destined for discovery, the other two for fishing, he proceeded again to that northern region; and on the thirtieth of June was in seventy-two degrees and twelve minutes north latitude, where the sun was five degrees above the horizon at midnight, and the needle varied twenty-eight degrees toward the west. The whole of that coast he called London Coast. Sailing sixty leagues up Cumberland Straits, he discovered a cluster of islands, which he called Cumberland Islands. Having, on his passage back from the northern seas, discovered and named Lumley's Inlet he returned in September to England [4]. The Spanish fleet, and the untimely death of secretary Walsingham, hindered the prosecution of these discoveries [5].

went to England with Amadas and Barlow in 1584, returned with this colony to Virginia. See Smith, Virg. 13, 14. Beverly, 13, 15. Stith, 47—50. Purchas, i. 755. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 103. Belknap, Biog. i. 39. Stow, Chron. 1018. Brit. Emp. iii. 38. Harris, Voy. i. 815. Haz. i. 40, 41.

1 Political Annals, i. 515.

2 This voyage, like the other, was for the discovery of a Northwest passage; but Davis proceeded no farther than to 66 deg. 20 min. north lat. For an account of this second voyage, see Hakluyt, iii. 103—111. Harris, Voy. 580—582. Forster, Voy. 302—308. Purchas, i. 741. Univ. Hist. xli. 86, 101. Camden, Eliz. 324, 325. Belknap, Biog. i. 38. Forster considered this second voyage of Davis highly important; but "the great fault of it is, that in consequence of his not having named the countries he saw, it is very unintelligible."

3 "Two Barkes and a Clincher." Hakluyt.

4 Hakluyt, iii. 111.—118. Forster, Voy. 308—310. Purchas, i. 742. Univ. Hist. xli. 101. Brit. Emp. i. 2. Forster says, that Davis went farther to the north than any of his predecessors; and that, if the ice had not prevented him, he would certainly then have made the discovery which was afterward happily effected in 1616, by Baffin.

5 Purchas, i. 742, where "Master Secretary Walsingham" is styled "The epitome and summarie of human worthinesse."

1588.

The city of Nombre de Dios was about this time removed to Porto Bello, by order of Philip II. of Spain 1.

Thomas Cavendish, an Englishman, completed the circumnavigation of the earth. On this voyage he passed through the Straits of Magellan; and pillaged, and burned several of the Spanish settlements in Chili, Peru, and New Spain 2. This was the second English voyage round the world. These warlike circumnavigations were from this time discontinued by the English nation until the reign of queen Anne 3.

Governor White, though detained in England, so importunately solicited Ralegh and Grenville for the relief of the Vir-

1 Some historians place this event in 1584. See Univ. Hist. xxxix. 156. Ulloa's Voyage to South America, i. 86. But, as it clearly appears from Hakluyt, iii. 553, that the measure was only *recommended* to the king of Spain in 1587 by his surveyor Baptista Antonio, I presume its accomplishment cannot have been earlier than the succeeding year. "If it would please your majestie, it were good that the citie of Nombre de Dios might be brought and builded in this harbour [Porto Bello]." Nombre de Dios (built in 1509) was entirely destroyed in its infancy by the Indians of Darien; but some time afterward it was repaired, and the inhabitants maintained their ground until this removal. Ulloa, i. 86. The expediency of this measure sufficiently appears from the account given to the king by his surveyor: "Puerto Bello lieth five leagues from Nombre Dios westward; it is a very good harbour, and sufficient to receive great store of ships. Within this harbour there lieth a small creeke safe from all winds that can blow." [See p. 22 of these Annals.] "The fleete shall not passe so many dangers as they dayly doe in Nombre de Dios; neither will there so many people die as there dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: and the cause thereof is, that those labouring men which doe use to unlade those merchandize, are all the whole day wading in the water up to the armepits to bring the packs of cloth and other commodities aland: for there is no landing place where there can come any boates to land any goods close to the shore, so this wading and the parching of the sunne is the cause why so many doe dye of a burning fever. There are but 60 dwelling houses in Nombre de Dios, and but thirtie dwellers which doe continually dwell there, and the rest doe goe to Panama after the fleete is gone, and then this towne doeth remayne desolate, every man forsaking it because it is so full of diseases." Hakluyt, iii. 552, 553.

2 Haklu , iii. 803—809, where this eminent navigator is called *Candish*. Churchill, Voy. iii. 401. Camden, Eliz. 397. It was begun at his own expence with three ships 21 July, 1586, and effected in two years and two months. Two of his ships were lost in the voyage. Ibid.

3 Anderson, ii. 164; who there says, "neither this nor Drake's circumnavigations were intended for making any useful settlements in those remote parts for the benefit of our commerce, as most certainly they might easily have done; but their principal aim was privateering against and pillaging the Spaniards, together with some transient commerce."

ginian

ginian colony, as to obtain two small pinnaces, in which fifteen planters with suitable supplies of provision sailed for Virginia. More intent however on a profitable voyage, than on the relief of the colony, they went in chace of prizes; until at length two men of war from Rochelle, falling in with them, disabled and rifled them, and obliged them to put back for England [1].

1589.

Sir Walter Ralegh, having expended fory thousand pounds in attempting the colonization of Virginia, without realizing the expected gain, made an assignment of his patent to Thomas Smith, and other merchants and adventurers, with a donation of one hundred pounds for the propagation of the Christian religion among the natives, and for the general benefit of the Virginian colony [2].

1590.

The English nation, at the juncture of governor White's arrival in England, being still at war with Spain, and apprehending an invasion by the Invincible Armada, the governor, who was one of the queen's council of war, was obliged to remain there until the spring of this year. Finding himself at liberty to return to his colony, he sailed from Plymouth with three ships, and, having passed through the West Indies in the quest of Spanish prizes, arrived on the fifteenth of August at Hatteras. In attempting to go on shore on the seventeenth, one of boats was overset, and seven men were drowned. This disaster discouraged the sailors to such a degree, that they all seemed resolved to abandon the research; but, by the persuasion and authority of the governor and one of their captains, they resumed it. The governor accordingly, taking with him nineteen men in two boats, went toward the place where he had left the English colony, and found on a tree at the top of the bank, CRO: carved in fair Roman let-

1 Oldys, Life Ral. p. 41. Naval Hist. G. Brit. i. 240. Belk. Biog. i. 219.

2 Hakluyt, i. 815—817; Hazard, Coll. i. 425; where are entire copies of this assignment. Birch, Life Ral. p. 21. Stith, 25. Belknap, Biog. i. 220. Robertson, book ix. 48, where the *date* is erroneous. Oldys, Life Ral. p. 49. Ralegh was a generous benefactor to the colony, of which he was the parent. Mr. Harriot assures us, the least that he had granted had been 500 acres of land to a man only for the adventure of his person. Hakluyt, iii. 280.

ters.

ters. This he knew to be intended to mark the place, where the planters might be found; for they had secretly agreed with him at his departure for England, to write or carve on trees or posts of the doors the name of the place where they should be seated, because they were at that time preparing to remove fifty miles from Roanoke into the main land. It had also been agreed, that, in case of their distress, they should carve over the letters a cross; but, to the great comfort and encouragement of their English friends, they found not this sign. Coming to the spot, where the colony had been left, they found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly inclosed with a high palisado of trees, in the form of a fort. At the right side of the entrance on one of the chief trees or posts, the bark of which had been taken off five feet from the ground, was carved, in fair capital letters, CROATOAN, without the sign of distress [1]. Concluding that the colony, was safe at the place, thus designated, they determined the next morning to sail for Croatoan [2]. The ship however parting her cables, the weather being tempestuous, their provisions and fresh water scanty, they concluded to sail to the West Indies for supplies, remain there through the winter, and, on their return, visit their countrymen in Virginia; but the violence of the storm obliged them to relinquish that design, and return to England [3].

1591.

A fleet of ships sailed from St. Malo in France for Canada; the French at that time being accustomed to fish at the islands about the bay of St. Lawrence for morses, whose teeth were then sold much dearer than ivory [4].

Thomas

1 Within the palisado they found many bars of iron, 2 pigs of lead, 4 iron fowlers, iron sack shot, and "such like heavie things throwen here and there almost overgrowen with grasse and weedes." In the end of an old trench they found five chests, that had been carefully hidden by the planters, three of which Governor White says were his own; and adds, "about the place we found many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust." Hakluyt.

2 An Indian town on the north side of Cape Lookout [Marshall, Life of Washington, i. 20.], southward of Hatteras. Belknap, Biog. i. 221. Here Manteo was born, and the natives of the island were the friends of the English. By the account in Hakluyt it was near Ocrecock Inlet.

3 Hakluyt, iii. 287—295. Smith, Virg. 15, 16. Beverly, 14.

4 Hakluyt, iii. 189. Anderson, ii. 180. They also made much oil from these

Thomas Cavendish, distinguished by his circumnavigation of the earth, undertook a voyage with five ships to the Straits of Magellan; but, unable to pass them on account of bad weather and contrary winds, he was driven back to the coast of Brasil, where he died 1.

1592.

Christopher Newport, with three ships and a small bark conducted an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies; and took several prizes. On the coast of Hispaniola, in the Bay of Honduras, and other places, he plundered and burnt several towns, and obtained considerable booty 2.

Juan de Fuca, a Greek, in the service of Spain, sent by the viceroy of Mexico, to discover a Northwest passage by exploring the western side of the American continent, discovered a strait, which bears his name, in the forty-eighth degree of north latitude 3.

1593.

George Drake, an Englishman, made a voyage up the gulf of St. Lawrence to the isle of Ramea 4. and carried home intelligence of the profitable trade of the French and others in these parts of America 5.

Other

these animals, which the English call Sea horses, the Dutch and French Sea cows. They are called in Latin *Boves Marini*, or *Vaccæ Marinæ*, and in the Russian tongue Morsses. Hakluyt, iii. 191. Anderson, ibid. 184. Hakluyt [ibid.] says, "I have seene the hide of one as big as any oxe hide, and being dressed I have yet a piece of one thicker then any two oxe or buls hides in England. The leatherdressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Savages; and I holde them farre better then the light leather targets, which the Moores use in Barbarie against arrowes and lances. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I have seen a dry fat full at once, are a foot and sometimes more in length; and have been sold in England to the combe and knife makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best ivory is sold for halfe the money." An English voyager [ibid. 192.] says, there were 1500 killed this year (1591) by one small bark at Ramea.

1 Camden, Eliz. 457. there called an untimely death.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 567—569, where there is an entire account of this voyage. Stith, 42. Josselyn, Voy. 240.

3 Belknap, Biog. i. 89, 224—230, from Purchas. Fuca supposed it to be the long sought passage.

4 Lying within the Straits of St. Peter, back of Newfoundland to the southwest in 47 deg. N. lat. Hakluyt.

5 Hakluyt, iii. 193. This diligent author notices three voyages "of our

Other English ships went this year to Cape Breton; some for morse fishing, and others for whale fishing. This is the first mention, that we find, of the whale fishery by the English. Although they found no whales in this instance, yet they discovered on an island eight hundred whale fins, where a Biscay ship had been lost three years before; and this is the first account that we have of whale fins, or whale bone, by the English [1].

Henry May, a worthy mariner, returning from the East Indies in a French ship, was wrecked on one of the islands of Bermudas, and was the first Englishman, who set foot on this island. The company, having saved the carpenter's tools, built of cedar a bark of about eighteen tons; caulked it, and payed the seams with lime, mixed with turtles' fat; procured the shrowds from the ship for rigging; put in thirteen live turtles for provisions; and, after remaining on the island nearly five months, sailed to Newfoundland, whence they procured a passage for England [2].

George Weymouth with two ships, fitted out from England at the joint expence of the two companies of Russia and Turkey merchants for the discovery of a Northwest passage, visited the coast of Labrador. In sixty-one degrees forty minutes

our owne men, the first of Mr. George Drake, the second of M. Silvester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh; because (he says) they are the first, for ought that has hitherto come to my knowledge, of oure owne Nation, that have conducted English ships so farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and have brought us true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do yerely return from the sayd partes; while wee this long time have stood still and have bene idle lookers on, making courtisie who should give the first adventure, or once being given who should continue or prosecute the same." Ibid.

1 Anderson, ii. 184. How ladies' stays were previously made, does not appear; but Anderson thinks it probable, that slit pieces of cane, or of some tough and pliant wood, might have been used.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 573, 574, where is Henry May's account of this voyage entire. The company did not leave the island until 11 May, 1594, and on the 20th fell in with the land near Cape Breton, where they took in water and provision, and then proceeded to Newfoundland. Ibid. Gorges, New Eng. 3. Smith, Virg. 173. Harris, Voy. 848. Belknap, Biog. i. 39. Sir William Monson says, he knew of this shipwreck, and of the preservation of Henry May, who belonged to one of the French ships that "captain Ryman had, when he was drowned returning from the Indies." Naval Tracts in Churchill, Collect. iii. 440. He also says, that above 50 years before the time when he was writing [i. e. about 1585], he "knew one captain Russel, a Frenchman, shipwrecked upon that island [Bermudas]; and with great industry of his people, for few of his men were lost, they patched up a boat out of the materials of the perished ship, that carried them to Newfoundland, where they found relief and passage into their own country." Ibid.

north

north latitude, he saw the entrance of an inlet, forty leagues broad, up which he sailed nearly a hundred and returned. The variation of the compass here was thirty-five degrees to the west. Sailing along the coast of America, he entered an inlet in the fifty-sixth degree of latitude, and had great but delusive hope of finding a passage. After a voyage of three months he arrived in England [1].

1594.

Silvester Wyet of Bristol, in a bark of thirty-five tons, made a voyage up the bay of St. Lawrence as far as the isle of Assumption, for the barbs or fins of whales, and train oil. Ten leagues up the bay of Placentia, he found the fishermen of St John de Luz, Sibibero, and Biscay to be upwards of sixty sail; of which eight ships only were Spanish. At Farrillon [2] he found twenty sail of Englishmen; and, having in this harbour satisfactorily made up his fishing voyage, he returned to England [3].

James Lancaster, sent out from London with three ships and a galley frigate, two hundred seventy-five men and boys, took twenty-nine Spanish ships, and, associating Venour an Englishman, and some Hollanders and Frenchmen, who were roving in the South American seas for booty, surprized Fernambuck, the port town of Olinda, in Brasil. After keeping possession of it thirty days, he carried off the freight of a rich East Indian carrack, with which, and sugars, Brasil wood, and cotton, procured there, he loaded fifteen sail of vessels, and returned home [4].

1595.

Sir Walter Ralegh, having the preceding year sent to Guiana captain Whiddon, an old and experienced officer, from whom he received flattering accounts of the opulence and grandeur of that country, resolved now to visit it in person [5].

1 Forster, Voy. 312—317.

2 To the northward of Cape Brace 14 leagues. Hakluyt.

3 Hakluyt, iii. 194, 195.

4 Hakluyt, iii. 708—715. Camden, Eliz. Anderson, ii. 186.

5 Guiana lies eastward of Peru under the equinoctial [Purchas, i. 835.], between the Oronoque and the river of Amazons. Ralegh says, the Oronoque is navigable for ships little less than 1000 miles, and for smaller vessels near 2000; later writers say, 1800. The country, where he was led to expect to find immense treasures, lay on this river, 600 miles from the sea.

Fitting

Fitting out a fleet at a great expence, he sailed on the sixth of February from Plymouth. Arriving at Trinidad, he spent a month in coasting the island, waiting at the same time for the arrival of captain Preston. Learning, during this period, the state of St. Joseph, a small city, lately built by the Spaniards on that island, and knowing that the search for Guiana must be made in small boats, and that his ship must be left several hundred miles behind, he perceived it would not be safe to leave at his back a garrison of enemies, interested in the same enterprize, and in daily expectation of reinforcement from Spain. Determined in his purpose, in the dusk of the evening he boldly assailed the Corps du Garde; and, having put them to the sword, advanced with one hundred men, and by break of day took the city, which, at the entreaty of the Indians, he set on fire [1]. Leaving his ships at Trinidad, he proceeded with one hundred men in boats four hundred miles up the Oronoque; but the river beginning dangerously to swell, he returned, without effecting the great discovery [2]. Several petty kings of the country however resigned their sovereignties into his hands, for the use of queen Elizabeth. It was his intention to seek for his colony in Virginia on his return to England; but extremity of weather forced him from the Virginian coast [3].

1 He took Antonio de Berreo, the Spanish governor, prisoner, and carried him, and a companion who was with him, on board his ships; but the other Spaniards he dismissed. Berreo provoked Ralegh to this measure, by treacherously capturing eight of captain Whiddon's men the year before, after giving his word that they should take wood and water safely. It appears too, that he and his Spaniards had treated the Indians with extreme cruelty; which accounts for the attachment these oppressed natives formed for Ralegh and the English people, whom they considered as their deliverers. Hakluyt. Bancroft, so lately as 1766, says, The Charibees of Guiana retain a tradition of an English Chief, who many years since landed among them, and encouraged them to persevere in enmity to the Spaniards; promising to return and settle among them, and afford them assistance. It is said, that they still preserve an English Jack, which he left with them, that they might distinguish his countrymen. This, adds Bancroft, was undoubtedly Sir Walter Raleigh, who in 1595 made a decent on the coast of Guiana, in search of the fabulous golden city of Manoa del Dorado. Hist. Guiana, 258, 259.

2 "The fury of Orenoque began daily to threaten us with dangers in our returne; for no halfe day passed, but the river began to rage and overflowe very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible showers, and gustes in great abundance." Ralegh. ibid.

3 Purchas, i. 828. v. 1269. Hakluyt, iii. 627—662, where is Sir W. Ralegh's account entire. He seemed to believe, that what he had written of Guiana would be sufficient to incite the "lady of ladies" [Elizabeth] to possess it; "if not," he adds, "I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves."

Captain

Captain Amias Preston, arriving after Ralegh on the coast of South America, landed at the isle of Coche, near Margarita, where he took a few Spaniards with their negro slaves, and a small quantity of pearls. Proceeding to Cumana, the the Spanish inhabitants, after a parley, agreed to pay him a ransom, to save their town from conflagration and plunder. He next took the city St. Jago de Leon, which was sacked, and burnt. Having afterward burnt the town of Coros, he sailed to Hispaniola, thence to Newfoundland, and thence to England [1].

Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins sailed from England with six of the queen's ships, and twenty-one private ships and barks, on an expedition to the West Indies. On the way from Guadaloupe to Porto Rico, Sir John Hawkins died [2]; and was succeeded in command by Sir Thomas Baskerville. The next day Drake made a desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto Rico; but, obtaining little advantage, he proceeded to the main, and took the towns of Rio de Hache, Rancheria, Tapia, Saint Martha, and Nombre de Dios [3]. Sir Thomas Baskerville now marched with seven hundred and fifty men for the reduction of Panama; but the Spaniards, having knowledge of the design, were strongly fortified, and he was obliged to abandon the enterprize [4].

Alvaro de Mendana de Neyra, a Spanish governor in South America, sailing from Callao with four ships and four hundred people, with the design of making a settlement in Solomon Islands, discovered four islands in the South Pacific Ocean, which, in honour of the marquis of Cannete, viceroy

1 Hakluyt. iii. 578—583.

2 Stow [Chron. 807.] says, "as it was supposed of melancholy." His armes, "emblazoned in memory of his noble atchievements," preserve his appropriate honours: "Upon his helm a wreath, *Argent* and *Azure*, a Demy Moore in his proper colour, bound and captive, with amulets in his arms and ears." Biog. Britann. *Art.* HAWKINS. See A. D. 1562.

3 Hakluyt, iii. 583—590. Purchas, v. 1183. The pearls, brought by the Spaniards for the ransom of the Rancheria (their fishing town for pearl,) were so highly rated, to make up the offered sum of 24000 ducats, that the general sent them back, and burned that town, and R. de la Hache, "the churches and a ladies house onely excepted." The other towns shared the same fate. The people of Nombre de Dios fled on the approach of the English, excepting about 100 Spaniards who kept the fort; but after a few discharges they also fled, leaving nothing of value. On the last of December the general burned half of the town, and 1 January the remainder, "with all the frigates, barks, and galiots, which were in the harbour and on the beach on shore, having houses built over them to keepe the pitch from melting." Hakluyt, ibid.

4 Ibid. and Naval Hist. of G. Brit. i. 103; where it is observed "grasping at too many things spoiled all."

of Peru, were called Las Marquesas de Mendoça, and were taken profession of in the name of the king of Spain [1].

1596.

Sir Francis Drake, proceeding with the English fleet from Nombre de Dios, died on his passage between the island of Escudo and Porto Bello. His body, according to naval custom, was sunk in the sea, very near the place where he first laid the foundation of his fame and fortune [2]. The fleet anchored at Porto Bello on the same day; but the inhabitants fled at the approach of the English, carrying away their goods [3].

Sir Walter Ralegh, at his own expence, fitted out two vessels under Lawrence Keymis, who made farther discoveries relating to Guiana [4].

1597.

Leonard Berrie, fitted out with a pinnace by Sir Walter Ralegh, arriving in March on the coast of Guiana, entered into a friendly correspondence with the natives, and returned to England [5].

Sir Anthony Shirley, commanding an English squadron, landed at Jamaica on the twenty-ninth of January, and marched six miles into the island to the principal town [6]. The inhabitants of the town and island submitting to his mercy, he resided here about five weeks, and then sailed to Honduras; took Puerto de Cavallos [7]; searched in vain for a passage to the South Sea; and returned by Newfoundland to England [8].

1 Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 238, 239. Vide supra, p. 87.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 588, 593. Naval Hist. G. Brit. i. 104. Stow Chron. 808.

3 Hakluyt, ibid. "In Puerto Bello were but 8 or 10 houses, beside a great new house which they were in building for the Governour that should have bene for that place; there was also a very strong fort all to the water side. There they ment to have builded a great towne." Ibid. This place was taken "before the town and fortifications thereunto belonging were one quarter finished." Churchill, Voy. viii. 762.

4 Hakluyt, iii. 672—692. Oldys, Life Ral. 89.

5 Hakluyt, iii. 692—697. Oldys, Life Ral. 108. This voyage was begun 27 December, 1596, and finished 28 June, 1597.

6 "The people all on horseback made shew of great matters, but did nothing." Hakluyt.

7 "The most poore and miserable place of all India." Hakluyt.

8 Hakluyt, iii. 598—602. This voyage was begun 23 April, 1596. Shirley arrived at Dominica 17 October; staid there till 25 November; landed at St. Martha on the Spanish main December 12; remained there over Christmas; and on New Year's day sailed for Jamaica. Ibid.

The

The earl of Cumberland, having received a commission from qeeen Elizabeth, to attack and destroy the territories of her enemies, took the island of Porto Rico in the West Indies, and carried off nearly eighty cast pieces of cannon, eight ships, and much wealth [1]; but the expedition was disastrous, for seven hundred men were lost before its completion [2].

M. de Pointis appeared with a squadron of French privateers before Carthagena, and forced it to capitulate; but his soldiers, in breach of the capitulation, pillaged the town [3].

Charles Leigh, merchant of London, made a voyage with two vessels to the Isle of Ramea and Cape Breton. Having given umbrage to the French at Ramea [4], two hundred Frenchmen and Bretons from all the ships in two harbours on the island assembled, and planted three pieces of ordnance on the shore against the English, and discharged on them one hundred small shot from the woods. There were also in readiness to assault them about three hundred Indians. On a parley however the contest subsided. In this voyage Leigh obtained a considerable quantity of codfish and train oil, and had some little traffic with the natives [5].

1598.

France, after fifty years of internal commotion, having recovered her former tranquillity, was enabled to renew her enterprizes for colonization [6]. The marquis de la Roche, receiving from Henry IV. a commission to conquer Canada,

1 Purchas, i. 903. Josselyn, Voy. 242. At Puerto Rico, the capital which gives name to the island, there was a bishop's see, and cathedral church, with a friery, 400 soldiers in pay, beside 300 others. "It was accounted the maiden towne and invincible, and is the Spanish key, and their first towne in the Indies."

2 Univ. Hist. xli. 522. About 60 men were slain in fight at Porto Rico; 600 died of the bloody flux; and about 40 were cast away in their return.

3 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 160.

4 By taking the powder and ammunition from a vessel (in one of the harbours) supposed to belong to Spain; but which proved to belong to the subjects of the French king.

5 Hakluyt, iii. 195—201. Both vessels were of London, the Hopewell of 120 tons, and the Chancewell of 70, and were "set to sea at the sole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London, merchants." They left Falmouth 28 April, and 18 May were on the bank of Newfoundland. On the 23d the Chancewell was cast away "upon the maine of Cape Breton, within a great bay 18 leagues within the Cape, and upon a rocke within a mile of the shore." The Hopewell, having fished successfully at the isle of Menego to the north of Cape Breton, and at Brian's island, arrived 18 June at Ramea. Ibid.

6 See A. D. 1540, and 1549.

and other countries, not possessed by any Christian prince, sailed from France, in quality of lord lieutenant of those countries, with Chetodel of Normandy for his pilot, carrying a colony of convicts from the prisons. Having landed forty of them on the Isle of Sable, he sailed for Acadie; made researches in that region; and returned to France, without attempting a settlement, or having it in his power to carry back those miserable outcasts, whom he had set on shore. He was prevented by various misfortunes from returning to America, and died of vexation [1].

1600.

On the death of La Roche, his patent was renewed in favour of M. de Chauvin, who now made a voyage up the river St. Lawrence to Tadoussac, where he left some of his people; and returned, freighted with furs [2].

Sebald de Wert, a Dutchman, having passed through the Straits of Magellan into the South Sea, discovered without the Straits three islands, which the company in honour of their captain, called the Sebaldine Islands [3]. He appears to have been one of the company of Oliver Van Noorth, sent out by the Hollanders with four ships, one of which, after the passage through the Straits, proceeded to the East Indies; and, having traded there for pepper, returned home by the Cape of Good Hope [4]. This was the fourth general navigation of

1 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 107—110. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 408, 409. Forster, Voy. 444. The French king, hearing at length of these convicts, sent Chetodel to take them away; and after seven years the survivors of that forlorn company, twelve in number, were taken off, and carried home. On their arrival in France, king Henry having at his own desire seen them, just as they were when they left the place, in their seal skin clothes and long beards, gave each of them 50 crowns, as a recompence for their sufferings; and remitted the punishment of their crimes. Ibid.

2 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 110, 111. Tadoussac is 90 leagues from the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The French people left there, would have perished by hunger or disease, during the following winter, but for the compassion of the natives. Ibid. Chauvin the next year made a second voyage, with the same good fortune as the first, and sailed up the St. Lawrence as high as Trois Rivieres; but while preparing for a third voyage he died. Ibid. Brit. Emp. i. *Introd.* p. 47. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 409.

3 Harris, Voy. i. 33. They are laid down in a map, ibid. and lie in 53 deg. 40 min. S. lat. about 60 miles from the land.

4 Monson [Naval Tracts, p. 402.] says, there were five ships, that went from Holland on this voyage: that several Englishmen went in them; that Mr. Adams of Lymehouse was on board that ship, which returned by

of the globe; but the first that was ever performed by the Dutch [1].

1601.

William Parker sailed from Plymouth in England with two ships, one pinnace, and two shallops, to Cubagua; and, having taken the pearl fishery in that island, with the governor of Cumana, who was there with a company of soldiers, he received five hundred pounds in pearl for the ransom of the whole. Proceeding to Porto Bello, he made himself master of that rich town; remained in it one day; plundered it without molestation from its inhabitants, and left it injuring its buildings [2].

1602.

Although the disastrous issue of Ralegh's attempts to effect a settlement in America, together with the war with Spain, checked the spirit of colonization in England, it was now revived. Bartholomew Gosnold sailed in a small bark from Falmouth with thirty-two persons [3], for the northern parts of

by the East Indies: and that, while he was at Japan, he sent intelligence to England of his being there, informing the English merchants of the state of that country, and expressing a desire, that they would undertake the trade of Japan. Charlevoix mentions the same Adams, as commander of the entire Dutch squadron: "Guillaume Adams, Anglois, en qualité de premier Pilote de l'Escadre."

1 Anderson, ii. 194. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, [Fastes Chron.] i. 28. It was begun in 1598; but was impeded by adverse winds. Historians do not perfectly agree in the *names* of the Dutch navigators; but I apprehend that several, who differ in this respect, refer to the same memorable voyage. Grotius expressly mentions it, with his accustomed neatness: "Longinquas ad navigationes crescebat Batavis audacia, quippe et fretum, quod Magellanicum a repertore dicitur, Draconi et Cavendisso Anglis emensum postea, quartus eorum, quos fama excepit, Oliverius Nortius Roterodamensis penetraverat." Annales, p. 593, A. D. 1601.

2 Purchas, i. 901; v. 1243. Harris, Voy. i. 747. Porto Bello was now entirely finished [See p. 114, note 3.]; but Parker obtained there no more than 10,000 dollars; for within a few days before 120,000 dollars were conveyed thence to Carthagena Churchill, Voy. iii. 762. Parker, in his description of "the stately and new builded town of Porto Bello" [in Purchas] says, it "had two goodly churches in it fully finished, and six or seven faire streets, whereof two were full of all necessarie artificers, and of merchants, with three small forts on the townes sides, besides the great fort of Saint Philip on the other."

3 Of this number 8 were "mariners and saylers;" 12 purposed, after the discovery of a proper place for a plantation, to return with the ship to England; the rest were to "remayne there for population." Purchas. At whose expence the voyage was made, does not appear; but it was with the consent of Sir W. Ralegh and his associates. Belknap.

Virginia, with the design of beginning a plantation. Instead of making the unnecessary circuit by the Canaries and West Indies, he steered, as near as the winds would permit, due west, and was the first Englishman, who came in a direct course to this part of America 1. After a passage of seven weeks, he discovered land on the American coast; and soon after met with a shallop with sails and oars, having on board eight Indians, with whom the English had friendly intercourse 2. Sailing along the shore, they the next day discovered a head land in the latitude of forty-two degrees, where they came to anchor; and, taking a great number of cod at this place, they called it Cape Cod. On the day following they coasted the land southerly; and, in attempting to double a point, came suddenly into shoal water, and called the place Point Care 3. While at anchor here, they were visited by the natives. In surveying the coast, they discovered breakers off a point of land, which they named Gilbert's Point; and, passing it on the nineteenth of May, anchored about a league to the westward of it. On the twenty-first they discovered an island, which they called Martha's Vineyard 4. Coming to anchor, two days afterward, at the northwest part of this island, they were visited the next morning by thirteen of the natives, with whom they had a friendly traffic. On the twenty-fourth they discovered another island, which they called Dover Cliff 5; and the next day came to anchor, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in a large bay, which they called Gosnold's Hope 6. On the northern side of it was the

1 Belknap, Biog. i. 231; ii. 100. Robertson, book ix. 51. Biog. Britan. *Art.* GREENVILLE, *Note* F. Smith [Hist. Virg. 16.] says, this course was "shorter than heretofore by 500 leagues."

2 These natives first hailed the English; who answered them. After signs of peace, and a long speech made by one of the Indians, they went boldly on board the English vessel, "all naked," saving loose deer skins about their shoulders, "and neere their waste seale-skinnes tyed fast like to Irish Dimmie Trouses." One of them, who seemed to be their Chief, wore a waistcoat, breeches, cloth stockings, shoes, and a hat; one or two others had a few things of European fabric; and "these with a piece of chalke described the coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the Newfoundland; they spake divers Christian words." Purchas. Their vessel is supposed to have belonged to some unfortunate fishermen of Biscay, wrecked on the coast.

3 Supposed by Dr. Belknap to be Malebarre, or Sandy Point, forming the southeastern extremity of the county of Barnstable in Massachusetts. Belknap, Biog. ii. 110.

4 Not that, which now bears that name; but a small island, now called No-Man's Land. Ibid. 111.

5 Gay Head. Belknap.

6 Buzzard's Bay. Belknap. The narrator in Purchas says, it is "one of the stateliest sounds that ever I was in."

main;

main; and on the southern, four leagues distant, was a large island, which, in honour of the queen, they called Elizabeth [1]. A little to the northward of this island was a small one, which they called Hill's Hap; and on the opposite northern shore a similar elevation, which they called Hap's Hill. On the twenty-eighth they consulted together upon a fit place for a plantation; and concluded to settle on the western part of Elizabeth Island. In this island there is a pond of fresh water, two miles in circumference, in the centre of which is a small rocky islet; and here they began to erect a fort and store house. While the men were occupied in this work, Gosnold crossed the bay in his vessel; went on shore, trafficked amicably with the natives; and, having discovered the mouths of two rivers [2], returned in five days to the island. In nineteen days the fort and store house were finished; but discontents arising among those who were to have remained in the country [3], it was concluded, after deliberate consultation, to relinquish the design of a settlement; and the whole company returned to England [4].

1 The westernmost of the islands, which now bear the name of Elizabeth's Islands. Its Indian name is Cuttyhunk. Belknap.

2 One was that, near which lay Hap's Hill; and the other that, on the banks of which the town of New Bedford is now built. Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 234. The two harbours of Apooneganset and Pascamanset. Belknap.

3 "The 13th beganne some of our companie that before vowed to stay, to make revolt; whereupon the planters diminishing, all was given over." Purchas.

4 Purchas, i. 755; v. 1646—1653. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. p. 9. Mather, Magnal. book i. p. 3. Belknap, Biog. ii. 100—122, where the errors in his own first account of Gosnold [in Amer. Biog. i. 231—239] are corrected. Harris, Voy. i. 816. Smith, Virg. 16—18. Josselyn, Voy. 152, 157, 243. Prince, Chron. *Introd.* 104. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 269, 270. Brit. Emp. i. 254. In 1797 the Reverend Dr. Belknap, with several other gentlemen went to the spot, which was selected by Gosnold's company on Elizabeth Island, and "had the supreme satisfaction to find the cellar of Gosnold's store house; the stones of which were evidently taken from the neighbouring beach; the rocks of the islet being less moveable, and lying in ledges." Belknap, Biog. ii. 115. In a map, entitled, "The South part of New England, as it is planted this yeare, 1634." inserted in the first edition of Wood's New England Prospect, I find a place near Narraganset Bay, named *Old Plymouth*; and in the same map the Plymouth, settled in 1620, is denominated *New Plymouth*. It hence appears, that Gosnold's ephemeral settlement (though not correctly placed in this map) was kept some time in remembrance in New England; for the name of "Old Plymouth" was doubtless intended to distinguish it. Hutchinson [Hist. Mas. i. 1.], speaking of Gosnold's settlement, observes: "This I suppose is what Josselyn, and no other author, calls the first colony of New Plymouth, for he says it was begun in 1602, and near Narraganset Bay." Josselyn's account [Voy. 157] is: "At the further end of Narraganset Bay by the mouth of the river on the south side thereof, was old Plymouth plantation anno 1602."

Sir Walter Ralegh, not abandoning all hope of the Virginian colony, made one effort more for its discovery and relief. Having purchased and fitted out a bark, he sent, on that benevolent enterprize, Samuel Mace, an able mariner of Weymouth, who sailed from Weymouth in March; fell on the American coast in about the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude; spent a month there; proceeded along the coast; but returned home without any thorough attempt to effect the purpose of this voyage [1].

1603.

The discovery made by Gosnold was an incitement to farther adventures. By the persuasion of Mr. Richard Hakluyt, and with the leave of Sir Walter Ralegh, the mayor and aldermen, and some of the most considerable merchants of Bristol, raised a stock of a thousand pounds, and fitted out a ship of about fifty tons, called the Speedwell, a bark of twenty-six tons, called the Discoverer, under the command of Martin Pring, for the fuller discovery of the northern parts of Virginia. The ship, carrying thirty men and boys, the bark thirteen men and a boy, both victualled for eight months, sailed on the tenth of April from Milford Haven. In the beginning of June they fell in with the American coast between the forty-third and forty-fourth degrees of north latitude, among a multitude of islands, in the mouth of Penobscot Bay. Ranging the coast to the southwest, and passing the Saco, Kennebunk, York, and Piscataqua rivers, they proceeded into the Bay of Massachusets. Going on shore [2], but not finding any saxafras, the collection of which was the chief object of their voyage, they sailed into a large sound [3], and coasted along the north side of it; but, not satisfied in their expectation, they sailed over it, and came to anchor on the north side. Here they landed at an excellent

1 Purchas, v. 1653. This was the fifth time that Ralegh sent, at his own charges, to the succour of the colony, left in Virginia in 1587. "At this last time, to avoid all excuse, hee bought a barke, and hired all the companie for wages by the moneth;" but they "fell fortie leagues to the southwestward of Hataraske, in 34 degrees or thereabout; and having there spent a moneth, when they came along the coast to seeke the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremitie of weather, and losse of some principal ground-tackle, forced and feared them from searching the Port of Hataraske, to which they were sent." Ibid.

2 At a place, named the year before, by Gosnold's men, Savage Rock.

3 It is called in Purchas a "great gulf;" which, according to Belknap, was the Vineyard Sound.

har-

harbour[1] in a bay, which in honour of the mayor of Bristol, they called Whitson Bay. Having built a hut, and enclosed it with a barricade, some of them kept constant guard in it, while others were employed in collecting saxafras in the woods. They were visited by the natives, whom they treated with kindness[2]. After remaining here seven weeks, the bark was dispatched, well freighted with saxafras, for England. Some alarming appearances of hostility on the part of the Indians, soon after the departure of the bark, accelerated the lading and departure of the ship, which sailed from the coast on the ninth of August[3].

While Pring was employed in this vogage, Bartholomew Gilbert went on a farther discovery to the southern part of Virginia; intending also to search for the lost English colony. Sailing from Plymouth on the tenth of May in a bark of fifty tons by the way of the West Indies, he on the twenty-third of July saw land in about the fortieth degree of latitude. Adverse winds preventing him from reaching Chesepeak Bay, at which he aimed, he came to anchor on the twenty-ninth about a mile from the shore, and landed with four of his principal men; but every one of them was killed by the natives. The rest of the crew, intimidated by this disaster, weighed anchor, and returned to England[4].

Henry IV. of France granted to Pierre du Gast, Sieur de Monts, a gentleman of his bed chamber, a patent of the American territory from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, consituting him lieutenant general of that portion of the country, with power to colonize and rule it, and to subdue and Christianize its native inhabitants[5]. The king

1 The haven, described in the journal inserted in Purchas, "must have been that of Edgar-Town, generally called Old-Town." Note of Peleg Coffin, Esq in Belknap, Biog. ii. 128. The place where the voyagers cast anchor is said in Purchas to be "in the iatitude of 41 degrees and odde minutes."

2 One of their birch canoes was carried home to Bristol, as a curious specimen of their ingenuity.

3 Purchas, v. 1654—1656. Belknap, Biog. ii. 123—133. Smith, Virg. 18. Beverly, 17. Stith, 32. Prince, 6. Brit. Emp. i. *Introd.* 21.

4 Purchas, v. 1656—1658. Prince, 10. Stith, 33.

5 Hazard, Coll. i. 45—48, where the patent is inserted entire, in the original French. An English translation of it is in Purchas, v. 1619, 1620; in Harris, Voy. i. 813; and in Churchill, Voy. viii. 796—798. In the last of these places it is introductory to L'Escarbot's Description of New France, an English translation of which is inserted ibid. 796—917. De Monts was a Calvinist; but the king allowed him and his people the exercise of his religion in America. On his part he engaged to people the country, and to establish the Catholic religion among the natives. Charlevoix, Nouv.

king soon after granted him and his associates an exclusive right to the commerce of peltry, in Acadie and the Gulf of St. Lawrence [1].

Samuel Champlain of Brouage in France sailed up the river St. Lawrence; anchored at Tadoussac; and made discoveries in the neighbouring territory [2].

Two hundred ships were at this period annually engaged in the Newfoundland fishery, and employed at least ten thousand men [3].

1604.

The Sieur de Monts, taking Champlain as his pilot, and attended by M. Poutrincourt with a number of volunteer adventurers [4], embarked with two vessels for America. Arriving at Acadie, he confiscated an interloping vessel in one of its harbours, which was now called Port Rossignol [5]. Coasting thence he arrived at another port, which his people named Port Mutton [6]. From this port they coasted the peninsula to the southwest; doubled Cape Sable, and came to an anchor in the bay of St. Mary. After sixteen days, they proceeded

Nouv. France, i. 111, 112. The country, described in the patent of De Monts, is there called Acadie; but this name was afterward restricted to what is now called Nova Scotia. "Cadia, pars Continentis, triangularis est formæ—qui duo sinus exiguo terræ spatio disjuncti, hanc Provinciam pene Insulam efficiunt." Laët, cited by Charlevoix, ibid. "Acadie, depuis le Cap le Sable jusqu'à Camceaux, & c'est ce que les Anglois ont d'abord nommé *Nouvelle Ecosse*." Ibid.

1 Chalmers, i 82, from L'Escarbot.

2 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 111. Harris, Voy. i. 811. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 410. Belknap, Biog. i. 41, 322.

3 Biog. Britan. *Art.* GILBERT, from Josiah Child's Discourse on Trade. This estimate includes seamen, fishermen, and shoremen. They were accustomed to sail in March, and to return in September; and to spend every winter at home what they acquired in their summer fishery, that is, upwards of 100,000*l*. Ibid.

4 Some were Protestants and some Catholics. "Il assembla nombre de Gentilshommes, et de toutes sortes d'artisans, soldats et autres, tant d'une que d'autre religion, Prestres et Ministres." Champlain, 43, who says (ibid.) that they were one month only in the voyage to Cap de la Hève, which lies several leagues to the eastward of Port Rossignol, in 44 deg. 5. min. After they left this cape, it appears, that Champlain parted from De Monts and went by his order in quest of a place for settlement. Ibid. 44, 57, 60.

5 From Rossignol, one of his countrymen, who was trading there with the Indians without licence; for which reason his ship and cargo were seized. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 115. The harbour is on the southeast side of Nova Scotia, and is now called Liverpool. Belknap, Biog. i. 324.

6 Because a sheep leaped overboard there, and was drowned. L'Escarbot.

to

to examine an extensive bay on the west of the peninsula, to which they gave the name of La Baye Françoise 1. On the eastern side of this bay they discovered a narrow strait, into which they entered, and soon found themselves in a spacious bason, environed with hills, and bordered with fertile meadows. Poutrincourt was so delighted with this place, that, determined to take his residence here, and, having received a grant of it from De Monts, he called it Port Royal 2. From Port Royal de Monts sailed farther into the great bay, to visit a copper mine 3. Champlain in the mean time, in examining this bay pursuant to the instructions of De Monts, came to a great river, which he called St. John. From this river he coasted the bay southwesterly twenty leagues 4, and came to an island in the middle of a river. De Monts, on his arrival, built a fort, and passed the winter on this island, which he called St. Croix 5. This situation proving very inconvenient, he, the ensuing spring, removed his settlement over the Baye Françoise to Port Royal 6. This was the first settlement in Acadie

1 Now called The Bay of Fundy. Belknap.

2 Now called Annapolis. Belknap. "In this port (says Escarbot) we dwelt three yeeres after this voyage." Henry IV. confirmed this gift to Poutrincourt: "en l'an 1607 le feu Roy Henry le grand luy ratifica et confirma ce don." Champlain.

3 It was a high rock, on a promontory, between two bays [Menis.] Belknap.

4 This was along the coast of the Etechemins: "The people that be from Saint John's river to Kinnibeki (wherein are comprised the rivers of St. Croix and Norombega) are called *Etechemins*." Escarbot. The river St. John was called by the natives Ouygondy. Champlain. The French did not *now* sail 50 leagues up this river (as Dr. Belknap seems to have supposed,) but in 1608. Purchas, v. 1622.

5 The river, named by the natives Scoodick, in which this island lies, is also called St. Croix; and, being part of the boundary between the territory of the United States and the British Province of New Brunswick, it has become a stream of great importance. After the treaty of 1783, by which the river St. Croix was made a boundary, it became a question, which was the real St. Croix; whether the river, known by the name of Scoodick, or that, known by the name of Magaguadavick. It has however been satisfactorily determined, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, that the Scoodick is the river, originally named St. Croix; and, the line has been settled accordingly. Professor Webber, who accompanied the commissioners in 1798, informs me, that they found an island in this river, corresponding to the French description of the island St. Croix, and, near the upper end of it, the remains of a very ancient fortification, overgrown with large trees; that the foundation stones were traced to a considerable extent; and that bricks (a specimen of which he showed me) were found there. There is no doubt, but that these were the reliques of De Mont's fortification.

6 Escarbot, in Churchill, Voy. iii. 798—815. Purchas, i. 751, 752; v. 1620

Acadie [Nova Scotia]; and was begun four years after the temporary residence of Pontgrave's company in Canada.

Two Jesuits, introduced by Poutrincourt into Port Royal, leaving that place soon after on account of some controversy, went to Mount Desert, and began a plantation there[1].

1605.

King James having recently made peace with Spain, and the passion for the discovery of a North West passage being now in its full vigour, a ship was sent out with a view to this discovery, by the earl of Southampton and lord Arundel, under the command of George Weymouth. He sailed from the Downs with twenty-eight persons on the last of March; and on the fourteenth of May discovered land in about forty-one degrees, thirty minutes, north latitude. Being entangled here among shoals, he quitted this land, and about fifty leagues distant discovered several islands, on one of which he landed, and called it St. George. Within three leagues of this island he came into a harbour, which he called Pentecost harbour; then sailed up a great river[3] forty miles; set

1620—1626. Champlain, 42—44. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 115. and Fastes Chron 28. Harris, Voy. i. 813—815. Belknap, Biog. i. 324—330. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 411. Minot. Mas. i. 127. The stores, which had been deposited at St. Croix, were removed across the bay, but the buildings were left standing. New houses were erected at the mouth of the river L'Equille, which runs into the bason of Port Royal; and here the people and stores were lodged. The winter had been severe; all the people had been sick; 36 had died, and 40 only were left alive. As soon as these were recovered, De Monts sought a comfortable station in a warmer climate. He sailed along the coast to Penobscot, Kennebeck, Casco, Saco, and ultimately to Malebarre, which was at that time the French name of Cape Cod; but the natives appearing numerous and unfriendly, and his company being small, he returned to St. Croix, and then to Port Royal, where he found Dupont, in a ship from France, with supplies and a reinforcement of 40 men. Having put his affairs into good order, he embarked for France in September 1605, leaving Dupont as his lieutenant, with Champlain and Champdore, to perfect the settlement, and explore the country. Escarbot. Belknap. M. de Poutrincourt returned to France with De Monts, if he had not indeed previously returned; for he "made the voyage into these parts with some men of good sort, not to winter there, but as it were to seeke out his seate, and find out a land that might like him. Which he having done, had no need to sojourn there any longer. So then the ships being ready for the returne, he shipped himselfe, and those of his companie, in one of them." Purchas, v. 1622.

1 "Ce fut en 1604 que les François s'établirent en Acadie, quatres ans avant d'avoir eleve la plus petite cabane dans le Canada." Precis sur l'Amerique, 56.

2 Belknap, Biog. i. 41. Purchas, v. 1807, 1808.

3 "The discovery of which they seem to be proudest was that of a river, which

set up crosses in several places; and had some traffic with the natives. In July he returned to England, carrying with him five Indians; one, a Sagamore, and three others of them, persons of distinction 1.

1606.

Although one hundred and nine years had elapsed since the discovery of the continent of America by the Cabots, in the service of Henry VII. of England; yet the English had made no effectual settlement in any part of the New World 2. Twenty years had passed since the first attempt of Sir Walter Ralegh to establish a colony in Virginia; but not an Englishman was now to be found in all the Virginian territory. The period however of English colonization at length arrived. The grant, made to Sir Walter Ralegh, being void by his attainder 3, several gentlemen, by the incitement of Mr. Richard Hakluyt 4, petitioned king James, to grant them a patent for the settling of two plantations on the main coasts of America. The king accordingly, by a patent, dated the tenth day

which they do upon many accounts prefer to any known American river." Dr. Belknap, in his first volume of American Biography, says, this great river is supposed to be either Penobscot, or Kennebeck; but, before the publication of his second volume, he had satisfied himself, after careful examination and inquiry, that it was the Penobscot. Americ. Biog. i. 41; ii. 149. Purchas [i. 755.] says, Weymouth "discovered three score miles up a most excellent river." See Harris, Voy. i. 817.

1 Rosier's account of this voyage is in Purchas, v. 1659—1676; and in Smith, Virg. 18—20. See also Harris, Voy. i. 817, 818. Keith, 52. Prince, 14. Stith, 34.

2 Three years before, at the time of queen Elizabeth's death (1603,) which was 110 years after the discovery of America by Columbus, neither the French, Dutch, nor English, nor any other nation, excepting the Spanish, had made any permanent settlement in this New World. In *North America* not a single European family could be found. The French had *now* (1606) just begun to make settlements in Canada and Acadie; and these, with the Spanish soldiers, maintained at two or three posts in Florida, appear to have been all the Europeans in North America.

3 He had been arraigned for high treason, and declared guilty; but was reprieved, and committed to the Tower of London. Oldys, Life of Ralegh, 152—157.

4 Mr. Hakluyt, at that time prebendary of Westminster, was "the most active and efficacious promoter" of the English settlements in America; and to him "England is more indebted for its American possessions than to any man of that age." Robertson, book ix. 55, where there is a sketch of his character. He published his first volume of Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation in 1589, and the third, in 1600; a work, which will perpetuate the praise, due to his learning, diligence, and fidelity; and which will always furnish some of the best materials for American history.

of

of April, divided that portion of North America, which stretches from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, into two districts nearly equal [1]. The Southern, called the First Colony, he granted to the London Company; the Northern, called the Second Colony, he granted to the Plymouth Company. He authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, and their associates, chiefly resident in London, to settle any part, that they should choose, of the southern district; and vested in them a right of property to the land, extending along the coast fifty miles on each side of the place of their first habitation, and reaching into the interior country a hundred miles. The Northern district he allotted, as a place of settlement, to several knights, gentlemen, and merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, and other parts of the west of England, with a similar grant of territory [2].

The supreme government of the colonies, that were to be settled, was vested in a Council, resident in England, to be named by the king, according to such laws and ordinances, as should be given under his sign manual; and the subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council, resident in America, which was also to be nominated by the king, and to act conformably to his instructions. The charter, while it thus restricted the emigrants in the important article of internal regulation, secured to them and their descendants all the rights of denizens, in the same manner, as if they had remained or had been born in England; and granted them the privilege of holding their lands in America by the freest and least burdensome tenure. The king permitted whatever was necessary for the sustenance or commerce of the new colonies to be exported from England, during the space of seven years, without paying any duty; and as a farther incitement to industry, he granted them liberty of trade with other nations; and appropriated the duty, to be levied on foreign commodities, for twenty-one years, as a fund for the

1 "That vast country, being found upon experience and tryal too large to be moulded upon one entire government, it was thought meet should be divided into a first and second colony." Hubbard, MS. N. England, 29.

2 The Southern Colony was desirous of "beginning their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient place" between 34 and 41 degrees north latitude, along the coasts of Virginia; the Northern Colony was desirous of planting between 38 and 45 degrees; and the Charter gave liberty accordingly: "Provided that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves shall not be made within one hundred English miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation." Charter.

benefit

benefit of the colonies. He also granted them liberty of coining for their own use; of repelling enemies; and of staying ships, that should trade there without leave [1].

King James, on the twentieth of November, issued "orders and instructions for the colonies," under the privy seal of England. He invested the general superintendence of the colonies in a council in England, composed of a few persons of consideration and talents, who were empowered to make laws, and to constitute officers for their government, with a proviso, that such ordinances should not touch any man's life or member; should only continue in force until made void by the king, or his council; and should be, in substance, consonant to the laws of England [2].

Lord chief justice Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and some others of the Plymouth Company, sent Henry Challons, in a ship of fifty tons, to make farther discovery of the coasts of North Virginia; and, if it should appear expedient, to leave as many men, as he could spare, in the country. On his passage however from the West India islands toward the American coast, he and his crew, consisting of about thirty persons, were taken by a Spanish fleet, and carried into Spain, where his vessel was confiscated [3].

Although this misfortune considerably damped the courage of the first adventurers; yet the lord chief justice Popham having immediately after the departure of Challons sent out another ship, under the command of Thomas Hanam, whose business was not so much to plant, as to make discovery in order to planting; the account, given of the country on the return of this ship, was so favourable, that the people of England were encouraged, and the year after came more boldly forward, as adventurers [4].

1 Stith, Virg. Appendix, No. 1, and Hazard, Coll. i. 50—58, contain entire copies of this patent. Purchas, v. 1683, 1684. Harris, Voy. i. 818. Smith, Virg. 203. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xv. Brit. Emp. *Introd.* i. 22. Robertson, book ix. 56.

2 Chalmers, i. 15, 16.

3 Purchas, v. 1827, 1832—1837, where there is an entire account of this voyage. See also Prince, 18. Chalmers, i. 79. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 270. Josselyn, Voy. 244. Harris, Voy. i. 851. Brit. Emp. i. 255.

4 Purchas, v. 1827. Harris, Voy. i. 851. Prince [19] says, that Martin Prinn was in this voyage with Hanam; that they had supplies for Challons, but, not finding him, returned to England; and that Sir F. Gorges said, Prinn brought the most exact account of the Virginian coast that ever came to his hand. He is generally named *Pring*. See A. D. 1603.

1607.

This is the remarkable æra of the arrival of the first permanent colony on the Virginian coast. On the reception of the patent from king James, several persons of consequence in the English nation undertook the arduous task of planting the Southern Colony. Having chosen a treasurer, and appointed other officers, they provided a fleet of three ships, to transport the emigrants, one hundred in number[1], to Virginia. The charge of this embarkation was committed to Christopher Newport, already famous for his skill in the western navigation, who sailed from the Thames on the twentieth of December the preceding year, carrying with him the royal instructions, and the names of the intended colonial council, carefully concealed in a box. "To this singular policy," says Chalmers, "may be attributed the dissensions which soon commenced among the leaders, and which continued to distract them during a voyage long and disastrous[2]."

It was the intention of Newport to land at Roanoke; but, being driven by a violent storm to the northward of that place, he stood directly in to the spacious Bay of Chesepeak, which seemed to invite his entrance. The promontory on the south of the bay he named Cape Henry, in honour of the Prince of Wales; and that on the north, Cape Charles, in honour of the Duke of York, afterward king Charles First of England. Thirty men, going on shore at Cape Henry for recreation were suddenly assaulted by five Indians, who wounded two of them very dangerously. At night the box was opened, and the orders were read, in which Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be of the council, and to choose from their number a president for a year, who, with the council, should govern the colony. The adventurers were employed in seeking a place for settlement until the thirteenth of May, when they took possession of a peninsula on the north side of the river Powhatan, called by the English James River, about forty miles from its mouth. To make room for their projected town, they here began to cut down the trees of the forest, which had for centuries

1 Most of their names are preserved in Smith, Virg. 43, 44.

2 Chalmers, i. 17. Smith, Virg. 41. Purchas, i. 756; v. 1685. He followed the old course by the West Indies; which accounts for the interval of four months from his embarkation to his arrival off the American coast. Robertson, book ix. 60.

afforded

afforded shelter and food to the natives. The code of laws, hitherto cautiously concealed, was at length promulgated. Affairs of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president was to have two voices. The council was sworn; Wingfield was chosen president; and "now commenced the rule of the most ancient administration of Virginia, consisting of seven persons, and forming a pure aristocracy [1]." The members of the council, while they adhered to their orders in the choice of their president, on the most frivolous pretences excluded from a seat among them, Smith, famous in colonial annals, though nominated by the same instrument, from which they derived their authority. Animosities arose. Appeased in a degree at length by the prudent exhortations of Mr. Hunt, their chaplain, Smith was admitted into the council; and, receiving the communion the next day, they all turned their undivided attention to the government of a colony, "feeble in numbers and enterprize, which was thus planted in discord, and grew up in misery [2]." In honour of king James, they called the town, which they now built, James Town. This was the first permanent habitation of the English in America.

Newport and Smith, sent with twenty men, to discover the head of the river Powhatan, arrived in six days at a town of the same name [3], consisting of about twelve houses, the principal and hereditary seat of Powhatan, emperor of the country. Although they received kind treatment throughout this excursion; yet, on their return to James Town, they found seventeen men hurt, and a boy slain, by the Indians. To guard against frequent and sudden assaults and ambuscades, the fort was now palisadoed; the ordnance was mounted; and the men were armed and exercised. On the fifteenth of June the Indians voluntarily sued for peace; and Newport set sail for England, leaving one hundred men, with provisions, arms, ammunition, and other necessaries for a settlement [4].

On the prayer of the colonists, king James issued an ordinance for enlarging the number and authority of his commissioners for directing the affairs of the colonies. Encouraged by favourable reports, and invigorated by this increase of power, the Virginian treasurer and council in England exerted

1 Chalmers.

2 Ibid. i. 17—19.

3 Pleasantly situated on a hill, a little below the spot where Richmond is now built. Belknap, Biog. i. 256.

4 Stith, 46, 47. Other authorities for this and the preceding articles are, Purchas, i. 756, 757; v. 1706, 1707; Smith, Virg. 43—45; Keith, 59; Neal, N. Eng. i. 18.

themselves with laudable diligence, to transmit proper supplies to the plantation. Captain Nelson was sent to James Town with an additional supply of men; and, before the close of the year, Newport arrived with seventy more, making two hundred in all the colony. These accessions consisted of many gentlemen, a few labourers, several refiners, goldsmiths, and jewellers. "The various denominations of these men," says Chalmers, "evince the views of the whole." The ships were at length sent back; the one, loaded by the miners with a glittering earth, which, they vainly hoped, contained golden metal; the other, loaded with cedar. These are recorded as the first Virginian products, as constituting the first remittance, and as indicating the earliest pursuits of an infant people [1].

Smith, while attempting to discover the head of Chickahominy river, was taken prisoner twenty miles in the desert, by a party of two hundred Indians, who tied him to a tree with the intention of shooting him to death. Already had they assembled around him with their deadly weapons; but Opechancanough, a brother of Powhatan, and commander of the party, holding up a compass, that Smith had given him, they all instantly laid down their bows and arrows. Having conducted their prisoner in triumph to numerous Indian tribes [2], they at length brought him to Werowocomoco, where Powhatan then resided in barbarian state, with a strong guard of Indians around him [3]. When the prisoner entered the apartment of the sovereign, all the people gave a shout. The

1 Smith, Virg. 54. Purchas, v. 1709. Chalmers, i. 21. Prince, 24, 26.

2 "Their order was this: drawing themselves all in file, the King in the midst, had all their peeces and swords borne before him: Captaine Smith was led after him by three great lubbers, holding him fast; on each side went six in file, with their arrows nocked." Smith, Virg. 47. Purchas, v. 1708.

3 Above 200 of "his courtiers stood wondering" at the prisoner, "until Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest bravery. Before a fire he sat on a seate like a bedsted, covered with a great robe of Raowcun [racoon] skinnes, all the tailes hanging by: on each hand did sit a young wench of sixteene or eighteene yeeres of age; along on each side the house two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red, many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of birds, every one adorned with something; a great chaine also of white beades about their neckes." Purchas. Powhatan was ordinarily attended by a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men in his country. "Every night upon the foure quarters of his house (says Smith) are four sentinels, each standing from other a flight shoot, and at every halfe houre one from the corps du guard doth hollow, shaking his lips with his finger betweene them, unto whom every sentinel doth answer round from his stand: if any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely." General Hist. Virginia, 37.

queen

queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water, to wash his hands; and another person brought a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, to dry them. Having feasted him in their best manner [1], they held a long consultation, at the conclusion of which, two great stones were brought before Powhatan. As many of the Indians, as could, laying hands on the devoted prisoner, dragged him to the stones, and placed his head on them, with the intention of beating out his brains with clubs. At this moment Pocahontas, the king's favourite daughter, her entreaties and tears not availing to rescue the captive from execution, rushed in between him and the executioner, took his head into her arms, and laid her own upon it, to ward off the blow. The father was subdued; and the victim was spared. Two days afterward Powhatan sent Smith, accompanied by twelve guides, to James Town [2].

Besides the personal misfortune of Smith, the infant colony met with various calamities in the course of the year. The store house at James Town taking fire by accident, the town, thatched with reeds, burned with such violence, that the fortifications, arms, apparel, bedding, and much of private goods and provision, were consumed [3]. From May to September fifty of the colonists died [4]; of which number was Bartholomew Gosnold [5]. The succeeding winter was etxremely cold, and this rigour of the season was the cause of additional mortality [6].

1 Smith "thought, they intended to fat and eat him."

2 Smith, Virg. 46—49. Stith, 50, 56. Purchas, i. 757. Smith had been a prisoner seven weeks.

3 Stith, 59. Smith, Virg. 52, who says, that Mr. Hunt, the preacher, lost all his library, and all that he had, yet none ever saw him repine.

4 This mortality was ascribed to excessive toil "in the extremity of the heat," wretched lodgings, and scanty, unwholesome food. "Had we been as free from all sinnes as gluttony and drunkennesse (says Smith,) we might have been canonized for saints." Ibid. 44. Purchas, v. 1706, 1707.

5 Purchas, v. 1690. He died 22 August, and, being one of the Council, was honourably buried, "having all the ordnance in the fort shot off, with many volleys of small shot." Ibid. This is the same distinguished person, who made the memorable voyage to the northern part of Virginia (now New England) five years before. Belknap, Biog. i. 239. See A. D. 1602.

6 "By the bitterness of that great frost, above half the Virginian colony took their deaths." This severe frost "was recompensed with as mild a winter with them the next year." Purchas, i. 757, 760. This extreme severity of cold was felt in the most northern regions of America. L'Escarbot, who was in Canada about this time, remarks, that "these last winters of 1607, 1608, have been the hardest that ever was seene. Many savages died through the rigour of the weather; in these our parts many poore people and travellers have bene killed through the same hardnesse of winter weather." Purchas, v. 1687.

There were judged to be at this time, within sixty miles of James Town, about seven thousand Indians, nearly two thousand of whom were warriors 1.

On the recent encouragement for settling North Virginia, Sir John Popham and others sent out two ships under the command of George Popham and Ralegh Gilbert 2, with a hundred men, with ordnance and all provisions necessary until they might receive farther supplies. They sailed from Plymouth the last of May; and, falling in with the island of Monahigon on the eleventh of August, landed on a peninsula, at the mouth of Sagadahock, or Kenebeck river 3. Here, after a sermon was delivered, and their patent and laws were read, they built a storehouse, and fortified it, and gave it the name of Fort St. George 4. On the fifth of December the two ships sailed for England, leaving a little colony of forty-five persons; Popham being president, and Gilbert admiral 5.

1608.

The summer of this year is remarkable, in the Virginian annals, for the first voyage toward the source of the Chesepeak. Captain John Smith in an open barge, with fourteen persons, and a very scanty stock of provisions, explored the whole of that great extent of water, from Cape Henry, where it meets with the ocean, to the river Susquehannah; trading with some tribes of Indians, and fighting with others. He discovered and named many small islands, creeks, and in-

1 Smith in Purchas, v. 1697. The most, seen together by the English, were seven or eight hundred. Ibid.

2 A nephew of Sir Walter Ralegh. Biog. Britan. [Art. GILBERT.] says, he made a voyage to Virginia this year in behalf of his uncle; in reference perhaps to this voyage.

3 Purchas, i. 756. Smith [Virg. 203.] says, "a faire navigable river, but the coast all thereabouts most extreme stony and rocky." Josselyn, Voy. 244. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. p. 9.

4 Belknap, Biog. i. 350. What Dr. Belknap calls a peninsula, is called in the Collections of the Historical Society [i. 252.] Parker's Island; and is there said to be formed by the waters of Kenebeck on the west, by the sea on the south, by the waters called Jeremysquam Bay on the east, and by a small strait of waters, which divides it from Arrowsick Island, on the north. "The island is now called Parker's Island, because it was purchased of the natives in the year 1650, by one John Parker, who was the first occupant after the year 1608." Ibid.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 30. Purchas, 756. Brit. Emp. *Introd.* i. 24. Purchas, v. 1828. Harris, Voy. i. 851. I. Mather, N. Eng. Brit. Emp. ii. 10. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 251, 252. "All the fruit of this their expedition, during the long winter, and the after time of their abode there, was building a barne, which afforded them some advantage in their return." Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. p. 31.

lets;

lets; sailed up many of the great rivers [1]; and explored the inland parts of the country. During this enterprize sixty Susquehannah Indians visited him, and made him presents. At this early period they had hatchets, and utensils of iron and brass, which, by their own account, originally came from the French of Canada. The Susquehannah nation at this time could raise about six hundred fighting men. Smith, after sailing about three thousand miles, returned to James Town. Having made careful observations during this excursion of discovery, he drew a map of Chesepeak Bay and of the rivers, annexing to it a description of the countries, and of the nations inhabiting them, and sent it to the council in England; and this map was made with such admirable exactness, that it is the original from which all subsequent maps and descriptions of Virginia have been chiefly copied [2]. His superior abilities obtained the ascendency over envy and faction. Although he had lately been refused a seat at the council board, he was now, by the election of the council and the request of the settlers, invested with the government; and received letters patent to be president of the colony. The wisdom of his administration infused confidence; its vigour commanded obedience. The military exercises, which he obliged all to perform, struck the Indians with astonishment, and inspired them with awe [3].

Newport arrived at Virginia with a second supply for the colony, bringing over seventy passengers, many of whom were persons of distinction [4]. Eight Dutchmen and Poles came over at this time, to introduce the making of tar, glass,

1 Pamaunk [now York,] Toppahanock [Rappahanock,] Patowmek [Potowmac,] Sasquesahanough [Susquehannah.] Smith's map, compared with later maps.

2 Smith, Virg. 21, 25, 55—65; Purchas, v. 1690, 1715; in each of which volumes a copy of Smith's original map is inserted. Stith, 83, 84. Purchas, i. 767. Keith, 78, 79. Chalmers, i. 21, 22. Robertson, book ix. 66, 67.

3 Chalmers, i. 22.

4 Smith, Virg. 72, 73; where the principal names of the passengers are preserved. Mrs. Forrest and Ann Burras, her maid, who were among these passengers, are said by some historians to have been the first English women ever in this country. They *were*, with the exception of the devoted colony of 1587, which contained 19 women. The marriage, just mentioned, as the first in Virginia, must be understood with the exception; though no mention is made by the early writers of any marriage in that first colony 20 years before. Stith, if we may rely on Smith's authority, errs, in omitting the name of Mrs. Forrest, and putting Ann Burras into the rank of a lady, in *her* place, attended by a maid.

and potashes 1. John Laydon was soon after married to Ann Burras; and this was the first marriage in Virginia 2.

Fresh instructions, now transmitted, expressly required the president and council of the colony to explore the western country, in order to procure certain intelligence of the South Sea; to transmit, as a token of success, a lump of gold; and to find one of the lost company sent out by Ralegh. "These orders demonstrate," says Chalmers, "that the chief object of the most active projectors was at this time, rather discovery, than colonization." The punishment, threatened in case of disobedience, struck the colonists with horror: "They shall be allowed to remain, as banished men, in Virginia 3. On the return of Newport to England, he left about two hundred persons in the colony 4.

Ships, now arriving with supplies for the colony at Sagadahock, brought intelligence of the death of Sir John Popham, and Sir John Gilbert. These misfortunes, with the death of captain George Popham, in whom very great confidence was reposed, together with the loss of the stores the preceding winter by fire, so dispirited the whole plantation, that the colony unanimously resolved to return in these ships to England 5. The patrons of the colony, offended at this unexpected return, desisted several years from any farther attempt toward effecting a settlement. Meanwhile, the English thus seeming to relinquish their pretensions to this country, the French availed themselves of the occasion, and planted colonies in various places within the English limits 6.

Poutrincourt having returned from Canada to France the last year, and presented to the king the fruits of the country, the king now confirmed to M. de Monts the privilege for the trade of beavers with the natives, for the purpose of enabling him to establish his colonies in New France 7. De Monts accordingly sent over three ships with families, to commence a permanent settlement 8. Champlain, who took the charge of conducting this colony, after examining all the most eli-

1 Smith, Virg. 73. Chalmers, i. 23.
2 Smith, Virg. ibid. Keith, 80.
3 Chalmers, i. 22.
4 Smith, Virg. 70.
5 Smith, [Virg. 204] says, that the country was esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desert; and that this colony "found nothing but extreme extremities."
6 Gorges, N. Eng. 19. Purchas, v. 1828. Harris, Voy. i. 851. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 80. Prince, 25. See also the authorities in note 5, p. 32.
7 Purchas, v. 1640, 1641.
8 "There," says L'Escarbot, "to beginne Christian and French Commonwealths." Ibid.

gible

gible places for settlement in Acadie, and on the river St. Lawrence, selected a spot at the confluence of this river and St. Charles, about three and twenty miles from the sea. Here he erected barracks, cleared the ground, sowed wheat and rye, and on this spot laid the foundation of Quebec, the capital of Canada [1].

1609.

The company of South Virginia, not realizing the expected profit from its colony, obtained from king James a new charter, with more ample privileges [2]. This measure served to increase the number of proprietors, among whom we find the most respectable names in the nation. With this augmented wealth and reputation, they pressed forward with bolder steps. The council of the Virginia company now appointed Sir Thomas West, lord Delaware, governor of Virginia, for life; Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant; Sir George Somers, admiral; and Christopher Newport, vice admiral; and fitted out seven ships, attended by two small vessels, with five hundred for that colony. Lord Delaware remained in England. The ship, in which the three other officers [3] sailed, becoming separated from the rest of the fleet in a violent storm, was wrecked on the island of Bermudas, where all the company, consisting of one hundred and fifty persons, were providentially saved. One small ketch was lost in the storm;

1 Champlain, 115. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 121, and Fastes Chron. Chalmers, i. 82. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 412. Brit. Emp. *Introd.* i. 47. Minot Mass. i. 127. Quebec was the Indian name of the place. "Trouvant un lieu le plus estroit de riviere, que les habitans du pays appeilant Quebec, j'y bastir et edifier une habitation, et défricher des terres, et faire quelques jardinages." Champlain. It was "some fortie leagues above the river of Saguenay." Purchas, v. 1642.

2 Copies of this second charter, containing the names of the proprietors, are preserved in Stith, Virg. Appendix, No. ii; and in Hazard, Coll. i. 58—72. By this charter the Company was made "one Body or Commonalty perpetual," and incorporated by the name of *The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the First Colony in Virginia.* Charter. To them were now granted in absolute property, what seem formerly to have been conveyed only in trust, the lands extending from Cape Comfort along the sea coast Southward two hundred miles; from the same promontory two hundred miles Northward; and from the Atlantic Westward to the South Sea. Chalmers.

3 Each of these gentlemen had a commission; and he, who should first arrive, was authorized to recall the commission, that had been previously given for the government of the colony; but "because they could not agree for place, it was concluded they should go all in one ship." Smith, Virg. 89.

the other ships, much damaged and distressed, arrived about the middle of August at James river 1.

The infant colony was still destined to calamity; and the very accession to its numbers, which should have added to its security, heightened its danger 2. President Smith having detached two hundred of these newly arrived adventurers to the falls of James River, and to Nansamond 3, they imprudently offended the neighbouring Indians, who cut off many of them; and the few, who escaped, returned in despair, to beg the protection of that authority, which they had lately contemned 4.

A systematic design was now meditated against the whole colony by the sovereign of the country; but it was providentially discovered and frustrated. Pocahontas, the tutelary friend of Virginia, though but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, went in a very dark and dreary night to James Town, and, at the hazard of her life, disclosed to the president a plot of her father to kill him and the English people 5. This timely notice put the colony on its guard; and some incidents soon after contributed still farther towards its preservation. An Indian, apparently dead through the effect of a charcoal fire in a close room, was, on the application of vine-

1 Smith, Virg. 89, 164, 174. Keith, 115, 116. Purchas, i. 758; v. 1729—1733. Chalmers, i. 27, 28. Stow, Chron. 1019, 1020. Belknap, Biog. ii. 23—25. This storm came from the *north east*, and began on Monday, 24 July. After it had blown twenty-four hours with extreme violence, the ship sprung a leak; and three days and four nights the whole company (about 140, exclusive of women) laboured incessantly at the pump. On Friday the fourth morning "it wanted but little," says the narrator of the voyage, "but that there had bin a generall determination to have shut up hatches, and commending our sinfull souls to God, committed the shippe to the mercy of the sea;" but, in this desperate extremity, Sir George Somers, who during the whole time had not once left the quarter deck, discovered land. Not expecting to save the ship by coming to anchor, they ran her aground within three quarters of a mile of the shore, whence all the company (about 150 in number) by the help of their boats arrived safely at the island. Purchas, v. 1735—1737. This perilous and distressing scene appears to have occurred in the Gulf Stream [Belknap, Biog. ii. 25.], the course of which, off the coast of the Southern States, is from southwest to northeast. A gale from the northeast, in direct opposition to the current, makes a great sea in that gulf; a fact, which I have had repeated opportunities to observe.

2 Smith [Virg. 90.] calls the people, who last arrived, "a lewd company," containing "many unruly gallants, packed hither by their friends, to escape ill destinies." To them he ascribes the anarchy and confusion that soon pervaded the colony. See also Stith, 103.

3 Nansamond was the most southern settlement in Virginia, under the 36th degree of north latitude. Chalmers, i. 518.

4 Smith, Virg. 90. Stith, 103.

5 Smith, Virg. 77, 121, 122.

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gar and aqua vitæ by the president, re-animated. This supposed miracle, with an explosion of powder, which killed two or three Indians, and scorched and wounded others, excited such astonishment, mingled with such admiration of the power, and art of the English, that Powhatan and his people came to them with presents of peace; and the whole country, during the remainder of Smith's administration, was entirely open to the unmolested use of the English [1].

The colony now pursued its business with success. It made tar and pitch, and an experiment of glass; dug a well of excellent water in the fort; built about twenty houses [2]; new covered the church; provided nets and weirs for fishing; built a block house, to receive the trade of the Indians; and broke up and planted thirty or forty acres of ground [3].

President Smith, enfeebled by an accident to his person from an explosion of powder, and disgusted with distractions in his colony, returned to England toward the close of the year; leaving three ships, seven boats, upwards of four hundred and ninety persons, twenty-four pieces of ordnance, three hundred muskets, with other arms and ammunition, one hundred well trained and expert soldiers, a competent supply of working tools, live stock, and ten weeks' provisions [4]. James Town was strongly palisadoed, and contained fifty or sixty houses. There were five or six other forts and plantations in Virginia [5].

Henry Hudson, an Englishman, in the service of the Dutch [6], left the Texel in the beginning of this year, with a design of penetrating to the East Indies by sailing a northwest-

1 Smith, Virg. 85. Stith, 97.

2 It appears, that 30 or 40 houses were built before.

3 Stith, 97.

4 Stith, 107, 108. Smith, Virg. 93, 164. Purchas, i. 758, Chalmers, i. 29.

5 Smith, Virg. 93. Smith's description of the Virginian colonists at that time is too curious to be omitted. "There was "but one carpenter in the country; two blacksmiths; two saylers." Those, described as "labourers," were for the most part footmen, and gentlemen's attendants, who never did know what a dayes work was." Excepting the Dutchmen and Poles, and about a dozen others, "all the rest were poore gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a commonwealth, than either to begin one or but help to maintain one." Ibid. 94.

6 Charlevoix, Forster, and others affirm, that Hudson undertook this voyage in behalf of the Dutch; yet some historians say, that he sold to the Dutch whatever right he may have acquired to the country by his discovery. It is said, in Biog. Brit. *Art.* HUDSON, that he was fitted out by the Dutch East India Company, which furnished him with a fly boat, equipped with all necessaries, and with 20 men, English and Dutch.

ward

ward course. Having attempted in vain to accomplish this purpose, he followed the track which the Cabots had marked for him above a century before. He coasted along the foggy shores of Newfoundland; shaped his course for Cape Cod; looked into the Chesepeak, where the English were settled; anchored off the Delaware; sailed into the river Manhattan [1]; and departed in October for England [2]. The Dutch sent ships the next year to open a trade with the natives [3].

After several attempts of Englishmen to discover the country of Guiana, and about the river of the Amazons, Robert Harcote undertook to settle a plantation in this region. Leaving his brother Michael Harcote with sixty persons at the river Weapoco [4], he returned to England, where, by the favour of prince Henry, he obtained a patent for all the coast of Guiana, together with the river of Amazons. The projected settlement however did not succeed, for want of due support from home [5].

1610.

Nothing could have been more inauspicious to the colony, than the departure of Smith. The Indians, finding that the person, whose vigour they had often felt, no longer ruled the English people, generally revolted, and destroyed them

1 He did not land at Manhattan without opposition; he did not, like Cabot, take formal possession. Chalmers.

2 Purchas, i. 743. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 148. Chalmers, i. 567, 568. Forster, Voy. 332, 333, 421, 422. Harris, Voy. i. 566, Europ. Settlements, ii. 286. Prince, 29. Brit. Emp. i. 2. Smith, N. York, 2. "Third Voyage of Henry Hudson towards Nova Zembla, and, at his return, to Newfoundland and Cape Cod." Title of a book in Bibliotheca Americ. p. 76, under A. D. 1609.

3 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 142. "Des l'année suivante quelques Marchands d'Amsterdam envoyerent des Navires dans cette Riviere [Manhattan,] pour y faire la traitte." Hudson can scarcely be called the first discoverer of a coast, which had been often explored before, from the days of the Cabots to the present. As he had never occupied the land, he could not transfer what he never possessed. The sovereign of France in 1603, and the king of England in 1606, had formally declared their intention to appropriate the same region, which their subjects immediately planted. Chalmers, i. 568.

4 Here captain Ley settled with some Englishmen in 1605; but, supplies miscarrying, they were forced to abandon that settlement. Anderson, ii. 225.

5 Smith, Virg. *continued*, chap. xxiv. Anderson, ii. 234. Unexpected difficulties occurring, Harcote merely sent over a few passengers, "with certain Dutchmen," and the country lay neglected several years. See A. D. 1617. Henry, prince of Wales, mentioned above, died in 1612, Æt. 19.

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whereever they were found. Captain Ratcliff, in a small ship with thirty men, going to trade, and trusting himself indiscreetly to Powhatan, he and all his people were slain [1]. The provisions of the colony being imprudently wasted, a dreadful famine ensued, and prevailed to such extremity, that this period was many years distinguished by the name of *The starving time*. Of nearly five hundred persons, left in the colony by the late president, sixty only remained, at the expiration of six months [2].

The company, wrecked at Bermudas, having built two small vessels, and paid the seams with lime and tortoise oil, put to sea on the tenth of May, and on the twenty-third arrived at Virginia [3]. Finding the small remains of the colony in a famishing condition, and seeing no other means to preserve them, than by abandoning the country, they took them all on board with the intention of returning to England. "None dropped a tear, because none had enjoyed one day of happiness." Lord Delaware, arriving at this juncture with three ships, one hundred and fifty men, and plentiful provisions, and meeting his forlorn countrymen in James river, caused them all to return to James Town, where he resettled the colony [4].

Having published his commission, which invested him with the sole command, he appointed a council of six persons, to assist him in the administration. A very essential change now took place in the form of the ancient Virginian constitution; for the original aristocracy was converted into a rule of one, over whose deliberations the people had no controul. Under the auspices of this intelligent and distinguished nobleman, the affairs of the colony were soon re-established. He allotted to every one his particular business. The French he commanded to plant the vine [5]; the English, to labour in the

1 Keith, 120. Stith, 116.

2 Smith, Virg. 105, 106. Stith, 110. Beverly, 34. Chalmers, i. 30.

3 "The three and twentieth of May," says the narrator in Purchas [v. 1748.], "we cast anchor before James Towne where we landed, and our much grieved Govenour first visiting the Church caused the bell to be rung, at which all such as were able to come forth of their houses repayred to Church, where our Minister, Master Bucke, made a zealous and sorrowfull prayer, finding all things so contrary to our expectations, so full of misery and misgovernment. After service our Governour caused mee to reade his Commission, and captaine Percie (then President) delivered up unto him his Commission, the old Patent, and the Councell Seale." See also Stow, Chron. 1020.

4 Smith, Virg. 106. Stith, 115. Beverly, 34, 35. Prince, 31. Chalmers, i. 30. Belknap, Biog. ii. 25—32.

5 A number of Frenchmen had been imported for the culture of vines. Belknap.

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woodlands; and appointed officers, to see his orders obeyed. All patiently submitted to an authority, which experience had taught them to be wise and necessary; and peace, industry, and order now succeeded tumult, idleness, and anarchy [1], Lord Delaware proceeded to build two forts at Kecoughtan, and called the one Fort Henry, the other, Fort Charles [2].

On the report of his deputy governors of the plenty that they had found in Bermudas, he dispatched Sir George Somers to that island for provisions, accompanied by captain Samuel Argal in another vessel [3]. They sailed together until by contrary winds they were driven toward Cape Cod; whence Argal, after attempting, pursuant to instructions, to reach Sagadahock, found his way back to Virginia [4]. He was

1 Smith, Virg. 107. Chalmers, i. 30, 31.

2 Smith, Virg. 108, 110. Stith, 120. They were built near Southampton river. Ibid.

3 Smith, Virg. 108. Somers went in the *Patience*, the same vessel, that had brought him from Bermudas to Virginia. It had not one ounce of iron about it, excepting one bolt in its keel. Univ. Hist. xli. 340. Bermudas was full of hogs; and it was the object of this voyage to kill and salt them for provisions. The English people, who were wrecked on this island, found them in abundance, and most historians suppose, they had escaped from some vessel, previously wrecked on the island. Sir William Monson [Naval Tracts, Churchill, iii. 439.] gives a different account of them. "This island [Bermudas] at the beginning was discovered by the Portuguese nation, and inhabited by them, till they found little profit accrued from it, and then they abandoned it, and left behind them such food, especially hogs, as they could not carry with them; and thus it lay waste for many years." We regret, that this respectable author does not mention *the time* when the Portuguese discovered Bermudas. If his account be correct, the account of the discovery of that island by Bermudez in 1522, and that of its discovery by Oviedus in 1515, it seems, must be erroneous. This last account was inserted in these Annals under A. D. 1515, in reliance on the accuracy of Mr. Prince, who is distinguished for correctness, and on Purchas, who is there mentioned as Mr. Prince's authority. But the passage in Purchas, which I have *since* found, convinces me, that *Oviedus did not discover Bermudas in* 1515. Some facts, incidentally mentioned there by Oviedus, relating to Charles V. do not possibly admit that date. [Compare Purchas, v. 1738 with Robertson's Charles V. vol. ii.] I suspect, that there is an error in the *figures*, and that it was originally 1525; a year, which agrees with the facts, incidentally mentioned by Oviedus. If this correction be admitted, JOHN BERMUDEZ may yet claim the honour of making the discovery in 1522, three years before the voyage of Oviedus, until Sir W. Monson's account of its discovery by the Portuguese be more clearly established. An extract from Oviedus, in the *margin* of Purchas (ibid.), appears to me to imply, that John Bermudez had made the voyage *before him*, and that the island was *already* called by his name.

4 Purchas, 1758—1762. Argal, before he left the coast of what is now New England, landed at an island "halfe a mile about, and nothing but a rocke, which seemed to be very rich marble stone." It lay in 43 deg. 40 min. N. lat.; and, on account of numerous seals taken there, was called Seal Rock. Ibid.

next

next sent for provisions to the Potowmac, where he found Henry Spelman, an English youth, who had been preserved from the fury of Powhatan by Pocahontas; and by his assisttance procured a supply of corn. Somers, after struggling long with contrary winds, was driven to the northeastern shore of America, where he refreshed his men [1]; and at length he arrived safely at Bermudas. Here he began te execute the purpose of his voyage; but, exhausted with fatigues, to which his advanced age was inadequate, he soon after expired. Previously to his death he had charged his nephew, Matthew Somers, who commanded under him, to return with the provisions to Virginia: but, instead of obeying the charge, he returned to England, carrying the body of his deceased uncle for interment in his native country. A town, built in the very place where this worthy knight died, was named, in honour of him, St. George [2].

It is not unworthy of notice, that Somers, when coming to America, being a member of parliament, the commons declared his seat vacant, because, by accepting a colonial office, he was rendered incapable of executing his trust. This appears to be the first time that Virginia was noticed by the English parliament [3].

The spirit of adventure was at this time so prevalent in England, that even the barren and inhospitable island of Newfoundland was represented as proper for plantation. This representation induced the earl of Northampton, the lord chief baron Tanfield, Sir Francis Bacon, then solicitor general, and other gentlemen of distinction, to join with a number of Bristol merchants, for obtaining from king James a grant of part

1 According to Prince [32.] it was at Sagadahock, the place to which Somers had instructed Argal to repair.

2 Smith, Virg. 176. Stith, 119. Belknap, Biog. ii. 35. Stow, Chron. 1018. Univ. Hist. xli. 340. Sir George Somers was above 60 years of age at the time of his death. His body was buried at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire, but his heart and entrails were buried at Bermudas. It appears by his epitaph, that his death did not take place until 1611. In 1620 Nathaniel Butler, Esq. then governor of Bermudas, caused a large marble stone, handsomely wrought, to be laid over the place where his remains were partially interred; and enclosed the spot with a square wall of hewn stone. The epitaph, composed by the governor, and inscribed on the marble, begins, in the style of that age,

"In the yeere 1611,
Noble Sir George Summers went to heaven;"

and, after four encomiastic lines, thus concludes:

"At last his soule and body being to part,
He here bequeath'd his entrails and his heart."

Smith, Virg. 193. Purchas, v. 1733.

3 Chalmers, i. 27.

of

of Newfoundland. A patent was acccordingly granted to the earl of Northampton and forty-four persons, by the name of the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the cities of London and Bristol, for the Colony or Plantation in Newfoundland, from north latitude forty-six to fifty-two degrees, together with the seas and islands lying within ten leagues of the coast. The proprietors soon after sent Mr. John Guy of Bristol, as conductor and governor of a colony of thirty-nine persons, who accompanied him to Newfoundland, and began a settlement at Conception Bay, where they wintered 1.

1611.

The health of lord Delaware not permitting him to remain in his office of captain general of the Virginian colony, he departed for England; leaving above two hundred people in health and tranquillity 2. Not long after his departure, Sir Thomas Dale arrived at Virginia with three ships, three hundred people, twelve cows, twenty goats, and all things needful for the colony. In August Sir Thomas Gates arrived with six ships, two hundred and eighty men, and twenty women, one hundred cattle, two hundred hogs, military stores, and other necessaries; and assumed the government 3. Finding the people occupied by mere amusements, and verging to the former state of penury, he took care to employ them in necessary works 4. The colony now began to extend itself up James river, and several new settlements were made 5. Virginia at this time contained seven hundred men, of various arts and professions 6.

1 Anderson, ii. 242, 243. Prince, 30. The patent states, that "divers" of the king's "subjects were desirous to plant in the southern and eastern parts of Newfoundland, whither the subjects of this realm have for upwards of 50 years been used annually, in no small numbers, to resort to fish." Harris, Voy. i. 860, 861, where the patent is entire.

2 Purchas, i. 258, 759; v. 1762—1764, where is lord Delaware's own relation. Smith, Virg. 110. Chalmers, i. 31. Beverly, 36. Prince, 33. Belknap, Biog. ii. 37.

3 Smith, Virg. 109—111. Purchas, i. 759. Keith, 124. Stith, 123. Prince, 34. Chalmers, i. 33. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 245. Brit. Emp. iii. 61. Lord Delaware had left the government in the hands of captain George Piercy until Dale should arrive.

4 Smith, Virg. 110. Most of the company at James Town "were at their daily and usual works, howling in the streets." Ibid.

5 Marshall, Life of Washington, i. 51.

6 Purchas, i. 759.

Sir

Sir Thomas Dale, furnished by Sir Thomas Gates with three hundred and fifty chosen men, built a town on James river; inclosed it with a palisade; and, in honour of prince Henry, called it Henrico [1].

To revenge some injuries of the Appamatuck Indians, Sir Thomas Dale assaulted and took their town, at the mouth of the river of their name about five miles from Henrico; kept possession of it; called it New Bermudas; and annexed to its corporation many miles of champaign and woodland ground, in several hundreds. In the nether hundred he began to plant, and with a pale of two miles, secured eight English miles in compass. On this circuit there were soon built nearly fifty handsome houses [2].

Henry Hudson, having sailed from the Thames in the beginning of the preceding year, on discoveries in behalf of private adventurers [3], is supposed now to have perished in the icy seas of Greenland [4]. Having entered the straits, which bear his name [5], he penetrated to eighty degrees twenty-three minutes, into the heart of the frozen zone, one hundred leagues farther in this direction, than any one had previously sailed [6]. While preparing to push forward his discoveries, his

1 Purchas, v. 1767. Smith, Virg. 111. Beverly, 37. "The ruins of this town," says President Stith in 1746, "are still plainly to be traced."

2 Smith, Virg. 111. Purchas, v. 1768. The pale of two miles is said by the historian to be "cut over from river to river."

3 Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, and Mr. John Wostenholme, "with other their friends." Purchas, i. 744.

4 Chalmers, i. 568.

5 Biog. Britan. Sir W. Monson, a contemporary, who received his intelligence "from the mouth of the master that came home from Hudson," says, that "the entrance was in 63 degrees;" that "they ran in that height 200 leagues, and finding the *Streight*, which was 40 leagues over, to run south, they followed that southerly course, making account it would bring them into the South Sea;" that "here they ran 200 leagues more, till they found the water too shallow and unpassable;" that "they wintered in an island in 52 degrees, where in the whole winter they saw but one man, who came to them but twice;" that "this Savage was cloathed in skins, and his arrows forked with iron;" and that "this attempt of Hudson has given us knowledge of 400 leagues further than was ever known before." The same author was of opinion, that the iron of the dart of the Indian, who visited Hudson, "shewed manifestly, he used to trade with Christians." Naval Tracts in Churchill, iii. 430, 433.

6 Harris, Voy. i. 634. Within the straits he gave names to several places, Desire Provokes, The Isle of God's Mercy, Prince Henry's Cape, King James' Cape, Queen Ann's Cape, &c. Ibid. He sailed three hundred leagues west in those straits, and on the second of August (1610) came to a narrower passage, having two headlands; that on the south he called Cape Wostenholme, the opposite one on the northwest, Digges's Island

his crew mutined; and, seizing on him, and seven of those, who were most faithful to him, committed them to the fury of the seas in an open boat. Most of the mutineers soon came to a miserable end. Going on shore at Digges Island, Henry Green, their ringleader, was shot through the heart, and several of his companions were mortally wounded. The remnant of wretched company hastily embarked for England [1].

Champlain, when commencing the settlement of Canada, found the Adirondacks engaged in an implacable war with the Iroquois or Five Nations [2]; and being now settled on the lands of the Adirondacks, he espoused their cause, and accompanied them in an expedition against their enemies. He now first penetrated into the country of the Iroquois by the river of their name, and discovered a lake, which he called Lake Champlain [3]; a name which it retains to this day.

Island. Through this narrow passage he passed into the Bay, which has ever since borne his name. Having sailed above a hundred leagues south into this bay, he imprudently resolved to winter in the most southern part of it, with the intention of pursuing his discoveries in the spring. On the third of November his ship was drawn up in a small creek, where he providentially found a supply of provisions. When the spring arrived, he was unable to induce the natives to come to him, and was therefore necessitated to abandon the enterprize. With tears in his eyes he distributed to his men all the bread he had left. In this extremity he had let fall threatening words of setting some of his men on shore; and now a few of the sturdiest of them, who had before been mutinous, entered his cabin in the night, and tying his arms behind him, put him into the boat. Biog. Britan. *Art.* HUDSON.

1 Purchas, i. 744, 745. Harris, Voy. i. 567—572. Univ. Hist. xli. 86. Europ. Settlements, ii. 286. Their best sustenance left, while on their voyage, was seaweeds, fried with candles' ends, and the skins of fowls, which they had eaten. Some of them were starved; the rest were so weak, that one only could lie on the helm, and steer. Meeting at length (6 September) a fisherman of Foy, they with his aid reached England. Ibid.

2 These nations of aboriginals, under the names of Mohawks, Oneydas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senekas, had been confederated from ancient times. They had already been driven from their possessions around Montreal, and had found an asylum on the south eastern borders of lake Ontario. The Adirondacks had, in their turn, been constrained to abandon their lands situated above the Three Rivers, and to look for safety behind the strait of Quebec. The alliance of the French turned the tide of success. The Five Nations were defeated in several battles, and reduced to extreme distress; but at length procuring fire arms from a Dutch ship, that arrived high up the Manhattan river, they became formidable to their enemies, and the Adirondacks were soon annihilated. Chalmers, i. 586.

3 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 144—146. and Fastes Chron. Champlain, Voy. 152. A battle was fought here, and a victory gained over the Iroquois. "Ce lieu où se fit ceste charge est par les 43 degrez & quelques minutes de latitude, & le nommay le lac de Champlain." Ibid.

1612.

For the encouragement of the adventurers to Virginia, the king issued a new charter, by which he not only confirmed all their former privileges, and prolonged their term of exemption from payment of duties on the commodities exported by them, but granted them more extensive property, and more ample jurisdiction [1]. By this charter all the islands, lying within three hundred leagues of the coast, were annexed to the Province of Virginia.

The Bermudas, lying within these limits, were sold by the company to one hundred and twenty of its own members, who, in honour of Sir George Somers, named them the Somer Islands. To these islands they now sent the first colony of sixty persons, with Mr. Richard Moor, as their governor. These colonists, having landed in June on the principal island, in August subscribed six articles of government [2]; and in the course of the year received an accession of thirty persons. The Virginia company at the same time took possession of other small islands, discovered by Gates and Somers; and prepared to send out a considerable reinforcement to James Town. The expence of these extraordinary efforts was defrayed by the profits of a lottery, authorized by the new charter, which amounted nearly to thirty thousand pounds [3].

Early in the year two ships, with a supply of provisions and eighty men, arrived at Virginia [4].

Henry, prince of Wales, sent out Sir Thomas Button with two ships, partly to ascertain, whether there were a

1 A copy of this third charter is preserved in Stith, Hist. Virg. Appendix, No. iii; and in Hazard, Coll. i. 72—81.

2 These articles are inserted in Purchas, v. 1795.

3 Purchas, v. 1801. Smith, Virg. 177. Josselyn, Voy. 246. Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* BERMUDES. Robertson, book ix. 77, 78. Prince, 35. Harris, Voy. i. 848—850. Robertson and other historians remark, that this is the first instance in the English history of any public countenance given to this pernicious mode of levying money. A great lottery however, for *some* purpose, was "holden at London in Paules Church Yard," in 1569, which "was begun to be drawne the 11 of January, and continued day and night till the 6th of May." Stow, Chron. 663. Stow gives this account of the Virginian Lottery: "The King's majesty, in speciall favour for the present plantation of English collonies in Virginia, graunted a liberal lottery, in which was contained 5000 pound in prizes certaine, besides rewards of casualty, and began to be drawne in a new built house at the west end of Paul's, the 29 of June, 1612." Ibid. 1002.

4 Stith, 127. Beverly, 37. Brit. Emp. iii. 61.

passage to the western ocean through Hudson's Bay; and partly to rescue Hudson and his companions, if they might be found alive, from the extreme misery, to which they must be subjected. He wintered at a river, which, after the name of the captain of one of the ships, who died there, he called Nelson's River. A small creek on the north side of the river he named Port Nelson. He and his mariners wintered on board the ships; and though they constantly kept three fires, and took the utmost care, many of them died. In June, he explored the whole western coast of the bay, which, after his own name, was called Button's Bay. To the south and west of that bay he discovered a great continent, to which he gave the names of New North Wales, and New South Wales; and here he erected a cross with the arms of England. The highest land, to which his researches extended, was about sixty degrees. Between Cape Chidley and the coast of Labrador he discovered a strait, through which he sailed; and sixteen days afterward arrived in England [1].

Peter Easton, a noted pirate, went to Newfoundland with several ships, and took a hundred men out of the fishing vessels in Conception Bay [2]. The English colony at that island now consisted of fifty-four men, six women, and two children [3].

The French attacked the Portuguese island Maragnan in Brasil, and became masters of it. To secure their conquest, they erected the city and fortification of St. Lewis de Maragnan; of which however they were soon deprived by the Portuguese [4].

1613.

This year is memorable for the first hostilities between the English and French colonists in America. Madame de Guercheville, a pious lady in France, who was zealous for the conversion of the American natives, having procured from De Monts a surrender of his patent, and obtained a charter from the reigning king for all the lands of New France from the St. Lawrence to Florida, with the exception of Port Royal, sent out Saussaye with two Jesuits, father Quentin, and fa-

1 Forster, Voy. 344—347. Anderson, ii. 244; but he puts the voyage in 1611. Forster says, that Button was *afterward* created a knight; and that Nelson was his *mate* in this voyage.
2 Prince, 35.
3 Purchas, i. 748.
4 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 221. Encyc. Methodique, *Art.* MARAGNAN.

ther

ther Gilbert du Thet, as missionaries. Saussaye sailed from Honfleur on the twelfth of March, in a vessel of one hundred tons, and on the sixteenth of May arrived at le Heve in Acadie, where he set up the arms of Madame de Guercheville, in token of possession. Proceeding thence to Port Royal, he found there five persons only, two of whom were Jesuit missionaries, who had been previously[1] sent over, but who had fallen under the displeasure of M. Biencourt, at that time governor of Port Royal. On producing the credentials, by which he was authorized to take these fathers into the service of the new mission, as well as to take possession of the Acadian territory, the two Jesuits were permitted to go where they pleased. They accordingly left Port Royal, and went with Saussaye to Monts Deserts, an island, that had been thus named by Champlain, lying at the entrance of the river Pentagoet. The pilot conducted the vessel to the east end of the island, where the Jesuits fixed their settlement; and, setting up a cross, celebrated mass, and called the place St. Saviour[2].

Scarcely had they begun to provide themselves with accommodation in this retreat, before they were surprized by an enemy. Captain Samuel Argal of Virginia, arriving at this juncture off the island of Monts Deserts for the purpose of fishing, was cast ashore in a storm at Pentagoet, where he received notice from the natives, that the French were at St. Saviour. Such was the account of their number and state, that he resolved to attack them without hesitation or delay. The French made some resistance; but were soon obliged to yield to the superior force of the English[3]. In this action Gilbert du Thet, one of the Jesuit fathers, was killed by a mus-

1 It appears by Champlain [Voy. 101.], with whom agrees Charlevoix [Nouv. France, i. 123.], that these two Jesuits, Biart and Masse, arrived at Port Royal on the 12th of June, 1611. Had Dr. Belknap seen Champlain, he would not have placed their arrival in 1604. The reader may observe, that this anachronism has been copied into these Annals (p. 124.) Had I seen the original French author *in season*, that error would have been prevented.

2 It was in 44 degrees, and 20 minutes, latitude. Champlain.

3 The French had a small entrenchment, but no cannon. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 131. Argal had 60 soldiers, and 14 pieces of cannon; the number of his vessels was 11. Champlain, 106. The *equipment* of these fishing vessels might give occasion to the belief, that they were "sent ostensibly on a trading and fishing voyage, but with orders to seek for, and dispossess intruders." See Belknap, Biog. ii. 52. It is certain however, that this very respectable writer, in common with Prince and other English historians, has confounded the two voyages of Argal, made to Acadie this year.

ket shot; some others were wounded; and the rest, excepting four or five, were taken prisoners. The English seized the French vessel, which lay there, and pillaged it. The French people, being furnished with a fishing vessel by the English, principally returned to France; but Argal took fifteen of them, beside the Jesuits, to Virginia.

The Virginian governor, after advising with his council, resolved to dispatch an armed force to the coast of Acadie, and to raze all the settlements and forts to the forty-sixth degree of latitude. No time was lost. An armament of three vessels was immediately committed to Argal, who sailed to St. Saviour, where, on his arrival he broke in pieces the cross which the Jesuits had erected,[1] and set up another, inscribed with the name of the king of Great Britain, for whom possession was now taken. He next sailed to St. Croix, and destroyed all the remains of De Monts' settlement. He then sailed to Port Royal[2], where he found not a single person, and in two hours he reduced that entire settlement to ashes[2], Having thus effectually executed the business of his commission, he returned to Virginia[3].

The only pretext for the hostile expedition of Argal, in a time of profound peace, was, an encroachment of the French on the rights of the English, founded on the discovery by the Cabots. The Virginian charter of 1606, unless considered as founded on that discovery, was not trespassed by the French settlements in Acadie. That charter granted indeed to the Plymouth company so far north, as to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; but De Monts had previously[4] received a patent of the territory from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of latitude, by virtue of which the French had actually commenced settlements below the forty-fifth degree, in the year 1604. Neither England, nor any European nation, appears so early to have asserted or allowed a right, derived

1 It has been said, that father Biart, to be revenged on Biencourt, offered to pilot the vessel to Port Royal; but Champlain says, the French refused that service, and that the English obliged an Indian to pilot them: "Conduit d'un Sauvage qu'il print par force, les François ne le voulant enseigner." p. 109.

2 This settlement had cost the French more than 100,000 crowns. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 137.

3 Champlain les Voyages de la Nouv. France, 103—109. English authorities relative to this subject are, Purchas, v. 1761—1768, 1808; Smith, Virg. 115; Beverly, 51—55; Stith, 133; Hubbard, Indian War, 201; Prince, 94; Univ. Hist. xxxix. 255; Stow, Chron. 1018; Chalmers, i. 82; Brit. Emp. i. 165, 166; ii. 10; Belknap, Biog. ii. 51—55.

4 See p. 121 of these Annals, A. D. 1603.

from

from *occupancy* 1. Had that right been settled by the law of nations, the act of Argal would have furnished just ground of war.

It does not appear, that this transaction was either approved by the court of England, or resented by the crown of France, it prepared the way however for a patent of the territory of Acadie, which was granted eight years afterward by king James 2.

Argal, on his return to Virginia, visited the Dutch settlement at Hudson's river 3; and, alledging that Hudson, an English subject, could not alienate from the English crown what was properly a part of Virginia, demanded possession. The Dutch governor, Hendrick Christiaens, incapable of resistance, peaceably submitted himself and his colony to the king of England; and under him, to the governor of Virginia 4.

These conquests abroad were succeeded by proportionate successes at home. John Rolfe, an Englishman, married Pocahontas, the celebrated daughter of Powhatan; and this alliance secured peace to Virginia many years. Having been carefully instructed in the Christian religion, she not long after openly renounced the idolatry of her country, made profession of Christianity, and was baptized by the name of Rebecca 5.

Sir Thomas Dale, accompanied by captain Argal and fifty men, went to Chickahominy, and held a treaty with an Indian tribe of that name, a bold and free people, who now voluntarily relinquished their name, for that of Tassantessus, or Englishmen; solemnly engaged to be faithful subjects to king James 6.

To

1 See p. 8 of these Annals.

2 Purchas, v. 1828. British Dominions in North America, book xiv. 246. Belknap, Biog. ii. 55. Stith, 133.

3 Dr. Belknap [Amer. Biog. ii. 55.] says, the settlement, which Argal then visited, was "near the spot where Albany is now built;" and it appears to have been the principal establishment of the Dutch on Hudson's river, at that time. They had however taken possession of the mouth of the river, and it seems to have been here (where New York now stands,) that their governor resided. Smith says, that Argal "found at Manhattas isle, 4 houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor." [Hist. N. Jersey, 26.]; but according to Chalmers [i. 568.] there was nothing more than "a trading house," which the Hollanders had built near the confluence of the river Manhattan.

4 Stith, 133. Chalmers, i. 568.

5 Smith, Virg. 113, 122. Stith, 136. Beverly, 39. Brit. Emp. iii. 61, 62.

6 Stith, 130. They had no werowance, or single ruler, but were governed in a republican form by their elders, consisting of their priests, and some of the wisest of their old men, as assistants. Smith [Virg. 114.]

To prevent idleness, and other evils, resulting from the prohibition of private property, and from the subsistence of the Virginian people on a public store, Dale now allotted to each man three acres of cleared ground, in the nature of farms; requiring him to work eleven months for the store, out of which he was to have two bushels of corn; and allowing him one month, to make the rest of his provisions [1].

In the course of the year five hundred and forty persons arrived from England at Bermudas; and the island now became settled [2].

1614.

Early in this year Sir Thomas Gates returned to England, leaving in Virginia scarcely four hundred men [3]. The administration of the government of the colony again devolved on Sir Thomas Dale, who, "by war upon enemies and kindness to friends, brought the affairs of the settlement into good order [4]."

A new governor from Amsterdam, arriving at the settlement on Hudson's river with a reinforcement, asserted the right of Holland to the country; refused the tribute and acknowledgment stipulated with the English by his predecessor; and put himself into a posture of defence [5]. He built a fort on the south end of the island Manhattan, where the city of New York now stands; and held the country many years, under a grant from the States General, by the name of the New Netherlands [6].

John

says, that they submitted to the English, "for feare, lest Powhatan and the English united would bring them again to his subjection. "They did rather chuse to be protected by us, than tormented by him, whom they held a tyrant." Keith [127] puts this submission in 1612.

1 Stith, 132.

2 Prince, 37. See A. D. 1612.

3 Stow, Chron. 1018. Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* VIRGINIA.

4 Chalmers, i. 36.

5 Stith, 133.

6 Josselyn, Voy. 153. Smith, New York, 2. Smith, New Jersey, 19. Belknap, Biog. ii. 56. It is affirmed [Univ. Hist. xxxix. 346.], that the Dutch now applied to king James for a confirmation of Hudson's conveyance; but that all, which they could obtain, was leave to build some cottages for the convenience of their ships, touching for water on their way to Brasil. A writer in 1656 [Hazard, Coll. i. 604, 605, from Thurloe, says, that the plantations, then by the Dutch called the Netherlands, were "untill of very late years better known and commonly called by them the New Virginia, as a place dependent upon, or relative to, the Old Virginia;" and

John Smith, distinguished in Virginian history, was now sent out with two ships from England to North Virginia, at the charge of four Englishmen, with instructions to remain in the country, and to keep possession [1]. Leaving the Downs on the third of March, he arrived on the last of April at the island of Monahigon in latitude forty-three degrees four minutes. After building seven boats, he in one of them, with eight men [2], ranged the coast east and west from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and bartered with the natives for beaver and other furs. By this voyage he made a profit of nearly fifteen hundred pounds. From the observations, which he now made on shores, islands, harbours, and headlands, he, on his return home, formed a map, and presented it to prince Charles, who, in the warmth of admiration, declared, that the country should be called New England [3].

Smith, in his late voyage to this country; made several discoveries, and distinguished them by peculiar names. The northern promontory of Massachusetts Bay, forming the eastern entrance into the bay, he named Tragabigzanda, in honour of a Turkish lady, to whom he had been formerly a slave at Constantinople. Prince Charles however, in filial respect to his mother, called it Cape Ann ; a name, which it still retains. The three small islands, lying at the head of the promontory, Smith called the Three Turks Heads, in memory of his victory over three Turkish champions; but this name was also changed [4]. Another cluster of islands, to which the discoverer gave his own name, Smith's Isles, was afterward denominated the Isle of Shoals [5].

and that this appellation renders still more credible the common report, that "by the permission of king James they had granted from him to their States, only a certain island, called therefore by them States Island [Staten Island,] as a watery place for their West India fleets; although as they have incroached upon, so they have given it a new Dutch name, ..., wiping out the old English names in those parts in America in their old Sea Charts, and have new Dutchified them."

1 "I was to have staied there," says Smith [Virg. 221,] "with but sixteen men."

2 His whole company consisted of 45 men and boys; "37 of the company fished." Purchas, v. 1838.

3 Smith, Virg. 205. Purchas, v. 1838. I. Mather, N. Eng. i. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 9; and Ind. War, 201. Mather, Magnal. book i. 4. Harris, Voy. i. 850. Chalmers, i. 80. Belknap, Biog. i. 305. Robertson, book x. 131. I. Mather says, it had been known several years before by the name of the Northern Plantations.

4 "Neither of them glorying in these Mahometan titles." Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xviii. The name, which they received in exchange, is lost.

5 Belknap, Biog. i. 306. This name is still retained.

The base and perfidious action of one man subjected English adventurers to present inconvenience, and to future dangers. Smith had left behind him one of his ships, to complete her lading, with orders to Thomas Hunt, the master, to sail with the fish, that he should procure on the coast, directly for Malaga 1. Hunt however, under pretence of trade, having enticed twenty-four of the natives on board his ship, put them under hatches, and carried them to Malaga, where he sold them to the Spaniards 2. This flagrant outrage disposed the natives in that part of the country where it was committed, to revenge the injury on the countrymen of the offender; and the English where hence constrained to suspend their trade, and their projected settlement in New England 3.

An opportunity was soon offered to the Indians, to show resentment, if not to inflict revenge. In the course of the year the English adventured to dispatch to the same coast another vessel, commanded by captain Hobson, for the purpose of erecting a plantation, and establishing a trade with the natives; but it was found next to impracticable to settle any where within their territories 4. Two Indians, Epenow and Manowet, who had been carried by Hunt to England, were brought back in Hobson's vessel, to be serviceable toward the design of a plantation; but they united with their countrymen in contriving means, by which they might be revenged on

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 32. Belknap, Biog. i. 306.

2 Hubbard [Ibid. 32, 34.] says, that Hunt, "like a wicked varlet," decoyed them; and that he took 20 Indians from Patuxet [now Plymouth,] and 7 from Nauset [Eastham.] I. Mather says the same thing. But, as Hubbard and the best authorities * give the aggregate number of 24, it is probable, that 4 only were taken from Nauset, and that this figure has been mistaken for 7. Mather also says, that Hunt carried these Indians to Gibraltar, and there sold as many of them, as he could, for 20 *l.* a man, until it was known whence they came; "for then the friars in those parts took away the rest of them, that so they might nurture them in the Christian religion."

3 I. Mather, N. Eng. 2. "This barbarous fact was the unhappy occasion of the loss of many a man's estate, and life, which the barbarians did from thence seek to destroy." Ibid. Other authorities for this article are, Hubbard, Ind. War, 201; Smith, Virg. 205; Brit. Emp. i. 256; Univ. Hist. xxxix. 271; Harris, Voy. i. 851. The two last authorities circumstantially vary from the others; the one, by giving an increased number of kidnapped Indians; the other, by making the voyages of Smith and Hunt entirely disconnected.

4 I. Mather [N. Eng. 2, 3.] expressly says, it was because Hunt's scandalous conduct had excited "such a mortal hatred of all men of the English nation."

* *Mourt is an exception. See Purchas,* v. 1849.

the

the English. Manowet died soon after their arrival. Epenow, not allowed to go on shore, engaged his old friends, who visited the vessel, to come again, under pretext of trade. On their approach at the appointed time with twenty canoes, he leaped overboard, and instantly a shower of arrows was sent into the ship. The Indians, with desperate courage, drew nigh, and, in spite of the English muskets, carried off their countrymen. Several Indians were killed in the skirmish. The master of the ship and several of the company were wounded. Discouraged by this occurrence, they returned to England [1].

The treasurer and company of Virginia having expended immense sums of money in attempting the settlement of a colony, without any adequate profit, applied to the commons of England for assistance in the prosecution of that enterprize. The attention to their petition is said to have been "solemn and unusual," but nothing appears to have been resolved on. Thus early were the affairs of the colonies brought before the parliament; and it is noticed by an English historian of distinction, as "extremely remarkable, that before the colonists had acquired property, or a participation in a provincial legislature, the commons exercised jurisdiction[2]."

1615.

Landed property was now introduced into Virginia; and for this important privilege the colony was indebted to governor Dale. Not only the lands generally, that had been granted by the Virginia company for the encouragement of adventurers, but the farms, that had been allotted to the settlers, were holden by an unstable claim. "The farmers did not possess the lands that were assigned them by a tenure of common soccage; but enjoyed them as tenants at will." To every adventurer into the colony, and to his *heirs*, were now granted fifty acres of land; and the same quantity for every person, imported by others [3]. An humiliating tenure, un-

1 T. Mather, N. Eng. 8. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 88. Brit. Emp. i. 257.

2 Chalmers, i. 35. It was objected in parliament, that, were this enterprize undertaken by the house and king, it might be the cause of a war. Lord Delaware answered, that this were no just ground of offence: for, said his lordship, the country was named by the queen: the Spaniards defend the West Indies; the Portuguese, the East; the French, the river St. Lawrence; the Hollanders, the Moluccas. Ibid.

3 A greater number of acres had been previously given to each adventurer; but this reduction was made on account of the prosperous condition of the colony. Stith, 139.

worthy

worthy of freemen, was thus changed into that of common soccage; and "with this advantageous alteration freedom first rooted in colonial soil[1]."

Smith, since his last voyage, had become intent on settling a plantation in New England[2]. The Plymouth company, though much discouraged by the ill success of Hobson's voyage the last year, was incited by Smith's account of the country, and by the spirit of emulation with the London company, to attempt a settlement. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in concert with Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, and several others, equipped two vessels, one of two hundred tons, the other of fifty, on board of which, beside seamen, were sixteen men, who were destined to begin a colony in New England. The command was given to Smith; but, before he had sailed one hundred and twenty leagues, he lost the masts of his largest ship, and was obliged to return under jury masts to Plymouth. He soon after sailed again in a bark of sixty tons with thirty men, sixteen of whom were the same who had accompanied him in the last voyage as settlers; but he was taken by four French men of war, and carried into Rochelle. The vessel of fifty tons, that had been separated from him in the first of these voyages, was commanded by Thomas Dermer, who pursued his voyage, and returned with a good freight in August; but the main design of the enterprize was frustrated[3].

1 Chalmers, 34, 36. The author of a Tract, entitled, The Trade's Increase, published in 1615, remarks: "As for the Bermudas, we know not yet what they will do; and for Virginia, we know not what to do with it: the present profit of those two colonies not employing any store of shipping. The great expence that the nobility and gentry have been at in planting Virginia is no way recompensed by the poor returns from thence." Anderson, ii. 266.

2 "Of all the four parts of the world I have yet seen, not inhabited," says Smith, "could I have but means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than any where, and if it did not maintaine itselfe, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let us starve." Hist. Virg. 209. This very intelligent and penetrating observer thus early formed a high and just estimate of the healthfulness and fertility of this portion of the country. He had the highest expectations from the fishery of this coast; and time has proved the exactness of his judgement. Before settlements were formed here, he made this remarkable discrimination: "The country of the Massachusits is the paradise of all those parts." Ibid. 210, 215.

3 Smith, Virg. 221—223. Purchas, v. 1838. Harris, Voy. 851. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 271. Belknap, Biog. i. 311, 312, 359, 360. The London company in January sent out 4 ships for New England. The voyagers, arriving off the coast in March, fished until the middle of June, and then freighted a ship of 300 tons for Spain. That ship was taken by the Turks; "one went to Virginia to relieve that colonie, and two came for England with the greene fish, traine oyle, and furres, within six moneths." Purchas, v. 1838.

Cap-

Captain Richard Whitburn, who with other Englishmen had made several voyages to Newfoundland, now arrived at that island, with a commission from the admiralty to empannel juries, and correct abuses and disorders, committed among the fishermen on the coast. On his arrival, he immediately held a court of admiralty, and received complaints from one hundred and seventy masters of English vessels of injuries, done in trade and navigation; a fact, which shews the flourishing state of the English cod fishery, at that early period 1. Many thousands of English, French, Portuguese, and others, were already settled at Newfoundland 2.

Sir Richard Hawkins, by commission from the Plymouth company, of which he was this year the president, made a voyage to New England, to search the country and its commodities; but, finding the natives at war among themselves, he passed along to Virginia, and returned home, without making any new observations 3.

1616.

Sir George Yeardley, to whom the government of the Virginian colony was now committed, having sent to the Chickahominies for the tribute corn, and received an insolent answer, proceeded with one hundred men to their principal town, where he was received with contempt and scorn. Perceiving the Indians to be in a hostile and menacing posture, he ordered his men to fire on them; and twelve were killed on the spot. Twelve also were taken prisoners, two of whom were senators, or elders; but they paid one hundred bushels of corn for their ransom, and, as the price of peace, loaded three English boats with corn 4.

Tobacco was about this time first cultivated by the English in Virginia 5.

Four ships sailed from London, and four from Plymouth, to New England, whence they carried great quantities of fish and oil, which were sold advantageously in Spain and the Canary islands 6.

The

1 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 249.
2 Prince, 43.
3 Gorges, N. Eng. 22. Prince, 43. Belknap, Biog. i. 360.
4 Stith, 141. Governor Dale sailed for England early this year.
5 Chalmers, i. 36. Robertson, book ix. 82.
6 Smith, Virg. 228. Purchas, v. 1839. Harris, Voy. i. 851. Anderson, ii. 269. A quarto volume, published this year at London, shows the progressive attention of the English to the northern parts of this country.

It

The Edwin, a vessel from one of the West India islands, coming into Bermudas with figs, pines, sugar canes, platanes, papanes, and various other plants, they were immediately replanted there, and cultivated with success 1.

Sir Thomas Smith and other gentlemen in England sent out the ship Discovery the fifth time, under the command of Robert Bylot. After passing Davis's Straits, he came to some islands, in seventy-two degrees forty-five minutes north latitude, where he found women only, whom he treated with kindness, making them presents of iron. These islands he called Women's Isles. Proceeding one degree farther north, he put into a harbonr, and was visited by the inhabitants, who brought him seal skins and horns, in exchange for iron. He named the place Horn Sound. On this voyage he also discovered and named Cape Dudley Digges, Wolstenholme's Sound, Whale Sound, Hakluyt's Island, Cary's Islands, Alderman Jones's Sound, and James Lancaster's Sound 2.

William Baffin, on a voyage for the discovery of a northwest passage to China, sailed to the seventy-eighth degree of north latitude, where he discovered a bay, which he called by his own name; but he returned without finding the desired passage 3.

The States General of Holland having, in favour of their East India company, prohibited all others from going to India, either by the Cape of Good Hope eastward, or through the Straits of Magellan westward; it was projected to attempt the discovery of a new western passage into the South Sea, southward of those straits. Isaac le Maire, a merchant of Amsterdam, the first projector of the design, and William Cornelitz Schouten, a merchant of Hoorn, fitted out two ships, on this enterprize, of which Schouten took the command.

It was entitled: "A Description of New England, Or, the Observations and Discoveries of Captain John Smith (Admiral of that country) in 1614, with the success of 6 ships that went the next year 1615, and the accidents befel him among the French men of War; with the proof of the present benefit this country affords, whither, this year 1616, eight voluntary ships are gone, to make further trial." Prince, 145.

1 Smith, Virg. 184.

2 Forster, Voy. 352—357. Whale Sound is in 77 deg. 30 min.

3 Brit. Emp. i. 3. Anderson, ii. 268. Baffin, in a letter to J. Wolstenholme, Esq. writes: "In Sir Thomas Smith's Sound in 78 deg. by divers good observations I found the compass varied above 5 points, or 56 degrees to the westward; so that a N. E. by E. is true north, a thing incredible, and matchless in all the world besides." Harris, Voy. i. 593. After this voyage, the English made no attempts to discover thy Northwest passage until the year 1631. Ibid. 634.

Having

Having sailed from the Texel in June the preceding year, he in January, three degrees to the southward of the Magellannic Straits [1], discovered land, the east part of which he named States Land, and the west, Maurice Land, between which he found a new strait, which he named after his partner, Le Maire. Passing through this strait, he doubled a cape, which he called Cape Hoorn. Crossing the Southern ocean, he proceeded to the East Indies, and thence to Holland. This was the sixth circumnavigation of the globe [2]. In this voyage Schouten took formal possession of several islands in the southern hemisphere, in the name of the States General [3].

1617.

Captain Argal, arriving at Virginia as governor, found all the public works and buildings in James Town fallen to decay; five or or six private houses only fit to be inhabited; the store house used for a church; the market place, streets, and all other spare places, planted with tobacco; the people of the colony dispersed, according to every man's convenience for planting [4]; and their entire number reduced nearly to four hundred [5], not more than two hundred of whom were fit for husbandry and tillage [6].

Pocahontas, having accompanied her English husband, Mr. Rolfe, to England was taken sick at Gravesend, while waiting to embark for Virginia, and died, at the age of about twenty-two years [7].

1 Monson, Naval Tracts. Churchill, Voy. iii. 403.

2 Harris, Voy. i. 37—45. Anderson, ii. 268. One of the two ships was lost by fire. The other, on its arrival at Jacatra (now Batavia,) was seized, together with the goods on board, by the president of the Dutch East India company; and Schouten and his men took passage home in one of that company's ships, completing their navigation in two years and eighteen days. Ibid. In Bibliotheca Americ. [81] there is this title of a book: "Diarium vel Descriptio laboriosissimi et molestissimi Itineris facti, a Gulielmo Cornelii Schoutenio Hornano annis 1615, 1616, et 1617. Cum Fig. Quarto. Amst. 1619." Purchas [v. 1391.] says, "the Hollanders challenge the discovery of new straits by Mayre and Schouten before twice sailed about by Sir Francis Drake;" but I have found no satisfactory evidence to set aside the Dutch claim, the justness of which is conceded by the best English historians.

3 Chalmers, i. 595. See Harris, Voy. ii. 805.

4 Smith, Virg. 123. Stith, 146.

5 Beverly, p. 50.

6 Smith, Virg. 128.

7 Smith, Virg. 128. Stith [146] says, that conformably to her life, she died, "a most sincere and pious Christian." She left one son only, Thomas Rolfe; whose posterity was respectable, and inherited lands in Virginia by descent from her. Keith, 129.

Un-

Unsuccessful as repeated attempts had been, for settling New England, the hope of success was not abandoned. Captain John Smith was provided at Plymouth with three ships for a voyage to this country, where he was to remain with fifteen men; but he was wind bound for three months; and lost the season. The ships went to Newfoundland; and the projected voyage was frustrated [1].

Sir Walter Ralegh, having been liberated from the Tower [2], obtained a royal commission to settle Guiana [3]. Several knights and gentlemen of quality furnished a number of ships, and accompanied him in the enterprize. They left Plymouth about the last of June, with a fleet of fourteen sail, but were obliged, through stress of weather, to put in at Cork in Ireland. Arriving at Guiana on the twelfth of November, they soon after assaulted the new Spanish city of St. Thome, which they sacked, plundered, and burned [4]. Having staid at the river Caliana until the fourth of December, Ralegh deputed captain Keymis to the service of the discovery of the mines, with five vessels, on board of which were five companies of fifty men each, who, after repeated skirmishes with the Spaniards, returned in February without success. Disappointed again in his sanguine expectations, he abandoned the enterprize, and sailed back to England. The hostile assault, made on St. Thome, having given umbrage, king James had issued a proclamation [5] against Ralegh, who, on his arrival, was again committed to the Tower; and not long after was beheaded [6]. He was one of the greatest and most accomplished per-

1 Purchas, v. 1959.

2 See p. 125, note 3. He was confined in the Tower above 12 years.

3 This commission is in Hazard, Coll. i. 82—85.

4 That is said to have been the only town in Guiana, then possessed by the Spaniards [Josselyn, Voy. 247.]; though the English adventurers found many fortifications there, "which were not formerly." St. Thome consisted of 140 houses, though lightly built, with a chapel, a convent of Franciscan friers, and a garrison, erected on the main channel of the Oronoque, about 20 miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo, the governor, taken by Ralegh in his first discovery and conquest here, attempted to plant. Heylin, Cosmog. 1086. See A. D. 1595. Stow, Chron. 1030. Walter Ralegh, a son of the knight, having accompanied his father, was slain in the assault. Ibid.

5 It was dated 11 June, and entitled, "Proclamatio concernens Walterum Rawleigh Militem & Viagium suum ad Guianam." It is in Rymer's Fœdera, xvii. 92; and Hazard, Coll. i. 85, 86.

6 Birch, Life Raleigh, 67, 79. Stow, Chron. 1039. Josselyn, Voy. 247. Oldys, Life Ral. 195—232. Anderson, ii. 272. Prince, 59. Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador at the court of king James, having gained the earliest intelligence of the transaction at Guiana, complained of it to that king,

persons of the age, in which he lived. He was the first Englishman, who projected settlements in America; and is justly considered as the Founder of Virginia [1]. To him and Sir Humphrey Gilbert is ascribed the honour of laying the foundation of the trade and naval power of Great Britain [2].

1618.

On the solicitation of the Virginian colonists for a supply of husbandmen and implements of agriculture, the treasurer and council sent out Lord Delaware, the captain general, with abundant supplies. He sailed from England in a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, with two hundred people; but died on the voyage, in or near the bay, which bears his name. His ship safely arrived at Virginia; and, soon after, another ship arrived with forty passengers [3].

On the death of Lord Delaware, the administration of Argal, deputy governor of Virginia, became unusually rigorous. Martial law, which had been proclaimed and executed during the turbulence of former times, was now, in a season of peace, made the common law of the land. By this law a gentleman was tried for contemptuous words, that he had spoken of the governor, found guilty, and condemned; but his sentence was respited, and he appealed to the treasurer and council, who reversed the judgement of the court martial. This is the first instance of an appeal, carried from an American colony to England [4].

king, "as what tended not only to the infringement of his majesty's promise, "but of that happy union" from the projected match between young Charles, prince of Wales, and the Infanta of Spain, "now in a hopeful degree of maturity." Oldys. Ralegh returned from Guiana in July 1618; was committed to the Tower 10 August; brought to trial at king's bench 28 October, and condemned to suffer death on his sentence of 1603; and beheaded the next morning at the age of sixty-six years. The sentence of 1603 was on charge of conspiracy for dethroning king James, in favour of the king's cousin, Lady Arabella Stuart. Burnet [Hist. Own Time, i. 12.] says, the execution of Ralegh "was counted a barbarous sacrificing him to the Spaniards."

1 Stith, 125. Coll. Hist. Soc. ix. 52.

2 Biog. Britan. *Art.* GILBERT.

3 Purchas, v. 1774. Beverly, 51. Stith, 148. Belknap, Biog. ii. 90. Prince, 54. Chalmers, i. 87. Brit. Emp. iii. 65. Stow [Chron. 1029.] says, that lord Delaware "could not recover his perfect health" after his return about six years since from Virginia, "until the last yeare, in which he builded a very faire ship, and went now in it himselfe with about eight score persons, to make good the plantation." He was a person of a noble and generous disposition, and expended much in promoting the colonization of Virginia.

4 Chalmers, i. 88.

Argal

Argal published several edicts, which "mark the severity of his rule, but some of them evince an attention to the public safety [1]." He ordered, that all goods should be sold at an advance of twenty-five per centum, and tobacco taken in payment at three shillings per pound, and not more nor less, on the penalty of three years servitude to the colony; that there should be no private trade or familiarity with the Indians; that no Indian should be taught to shoot with guns, on pain of death to the teacher and learner; that no man should shoot, excepting in his own necessary defence against an enemy, until a new supply of ammunition were received, on pain of a year's servitude; and that every person should go to church on Sundays and holidays, or be kept confined the night succeeding the offence, and be a slave to the colony the following week; for the second offence, a slave for a month; and for the third, a year and a day [2].

Twelve years had elapsed since the settlement of the colony; yet, after an expence of more than eighty thousand pounds of the public stock, beside other sums of private planters and adventurers, there were remaining in the colony about six hundred persons only, men, women, and children, and about three hundred cattle; and the Virginia company was left in debt nearly five thousand pounds [3].

The only commodities, now exported from Virginia, were tobacco and saxafras [4]; but the labour of the planter was diminished, and the agricultural interest advanced, by the introduction of the plough [5].

Powhatan, the great Virginian king, died this year [6].

The Somer Isles, by direction of the council and company of Virginia, were divided by lot into tribes; and a share was assigned to every adventurer [7]. This measure essentially promoted the interests of the infant colony settled in those islands [8]. 1619.

1 Marshall, Life of Washington, i. 60.

2 Stith, 147.

3 Stith, 159, 281.

4 Stith, 281.

5 Ibid. 149. Chalmers, i. 37.

6 Smith, Virg. 125. He was a prince of eminent sense and abilities, and deeply versed in all the savage arts of government and policy. Penetrating, crafty, insidious, it was difficult to deceive him, as to elude his own stratagems. But he was cruel in his temper, and showed little regard to truth or integrity. Beverly, 51. Keith, 132. Stith, 154. Belknap, Biog. ii. 63.

7 The names of the adventurers, and the number of the several shares, are in Smith, Virg. 188, 189.

8 Ibid. 187. It had previously been "but as an unsettled and confused chaos;

1619.

This is the memorable æra in the history of Virginia of the introduction of a provincial legislature, in which the colonists were represented. Yeardley, appointed governor general of the colony, arriving in April with instructions favourable to freedom, convoked a colonial assembly, which met at James Town on the nineteenth of June. The people were now so increased in their numbers, and so dispersed in their settlements, that eleven corporations appeared by their representatives in this convention, where they exercised the noblest function of freemen, the power of legislation. They sat in the same house with the governor and council, in the manner of the Scotch parliament [1].

The king of England having formerly issued his letters to the several bishops of the kingdom for collecting money, to erect a college in Virginia for the education of Indian children [2], fifteen hundred pounds had been already paid toward this benevolent and pious design, and Henrico had been selected, as a suitable place for the seminary. The Virginia company, on the recommendation of Sir Edwin Sandys, its treasurer, now granted ten thousand acres of land, to be laid off for the projected university. This donation, while it embraced the original object, was intended also for the foundation of a seminary of learning for the English.

King James, by proclamation, prohibited the sale of tobacco in gross or retail, either in England or Ireland, until the custom should be paid, and the royal seal affixed. Twenty thousand pounds of tobacco were exported this year from Virginia to England, the whole crop of the preceding year [3].

A great mortality prevailed among the people of Virginia, not less than three hundred of whom died [4].

Thomas Dermer, employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges on a fishing voyage to New England, loaded a ship of two hundred tons with fish and furs at Monahigan, and dispatched it

chaos; now it begins to receive a disposition, form, and order, and becomes indeed a plantation." Ibid.

1 Stith, 160. Of the 11 corporations 4 had recently been set off. Ib. 161.

2 "For educating Infidel children in the true knowledge of God." Stith, 163.

3 Chalmers, i. 47. The reason, assigned for the king's proclamation is, that "divers conceal and utter tobacco without paying any impost." Ibid.

4 Belknap, Biog. ii. 65.

for England 1. Proceeding in a small bark for Virginia, he sailed between the main land and Long Island; and was the first person, who ascertained this to be an island 2.

The æra of the English Puritans has been noticed 3. Passing by the first half century of their history, we will resume it at that period, were it becomes essential to our subject. The Puritan or Reformed church in the north of England had, in the year 1606, on account of its dispersed state, become divided into two distinct churches, to one of which belonged Mr. John Robinson, afterward its minister, and Mr. William Brewster, afterward its ruling elder 4. This church, in common with other disenting churches throughout England, being extremely harassed for its nonconformity, sought at length an asylum in Holland, where religious toleration was sanctioned by the laws. Mr. Robinson and as many of his congregation, as found it in their power, left England in the years 1607 and 1608, and settled in Amsterdam; whence in 1609 they removed to Leyden 5. After residing several years in that city, various causes influenced them to entertain serious thoughts of a removal to America. These causes were, the unhealthiness of the low country where they lived; the hard labours, to which they were subjected; the dissipated manners of the Hollanders, especially their lax observance of the Lord's day; the apprehension of war at the conclusion of the truce between Spain and Holland, which was then near its close; the fear, lest their young men would enter into the military and naval service; the tendency of their little community to become absorbed and lost in a foreign nation; the natural and pious

1 Smith [Virg. 229.] says, every sailor had 16*l.* 10*s.* for his seven month's work; and Harris [Voy. i. 851.], that every sailor had, beside his charges, 17 *l.* clear money in his pocket.

2 Smith, Virg. 127, 229. Prince, 63. Purchas, v. 1777, 1778. Dermer (whose account of this passage is in Purchas, ibid.) says, "Wee found a most dangerous cataract amongst small rockie ilands, occasioned by two unequall tydes, the one ebbing and flowing two houres before the other." This was doubtless what is now well known by the name of Hell Gate *. Dermer sailed again to New England the next year (1620), and, arriving at Capawick [Martha's Vineyard], he was suddenly assaulted by Epenow and other Indians, and received fourteen wounds. Returning to Virginia, he soon after died. Harris, Voy. i. 852. Purchas, v. 1830, 1831, 1839.

3 See A. D. 1550.

4 Prince, 19, 20.

5 Prince, 23, 24, 26, 27, from governor Bradford's MS. History; by which "it seems as if they *began* to remove to Leyden at the end of 1608." Ibid.

* *From the Dutch*; "*quem nostri inferni os, vulgo het Helle-gat, appellant.*" Laet, 72.

de-

desire of perpetuating a church, which they believed to be constituted after the simple and pure model of the primitive church of Christ; and a commendable zeal to propagate the gospel in the regions of the New World [1]. In 1617, having concluded to go to Virginia, and settle in a distinct body under the general government of that colony, they sent Mr. Robert Cushman and Mr. John Carver to England, to treat with the Virginia company, and to ascertain, whether the king would grant them liberty of conscience in that distant country [2]. Though these agents found the Virginia company very desirous of the projected settlement in their American territory, and willing to grant them a patent with as ample privileges, as they had power to convey; yet they could prevail with the king no farther, than to engage, that he would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they should conduct peaceably. Toleration in religious liberty, by his public authority, under his seal, was denied. The agents returned to Leyden the year following (1618), to the great discouragement of the congregation [3].

Resolved however to make another trial, they sent two other agents to England in February of this year (1619), to agree with the Virginia company; but dissensions then arising in that body, the business was necessarily procrastinated. After long attendance, the agents obtained a patent, granted and confirmed under the seal of the Virginia company; but, though procured with much charge and labour, it was never used, because it was taken out in the name of a gentleman [4], who, though at that time designing to accompany the Leyden congregation, was providentially prevented. This patent however being carried to Leyden for the consideration of the people, with several proposals from English merchants and friends for their transportation, they were requested to prepare immediately for the voyage [5].

1 For illustrations and proofs on this subject, and on the character and principles of Mr. Robinson and his Society, see Note V. at the end of the volume.

2 Hubbard, MS. New England, 38.

3 Prince, 56, 57. Hazard, Coll. i. 361.

4 Mr. John Wincob, "a religious gentleman, belonging to the countess of Lincoln." Prince, 65.

5 Prince, 65. Hazard, Coll. i. 87—89.

1620.

It was agreed by the English congregation at Leyden, that some of their number should go to America, to make preparation for the rest. Mr. Robinson, their minister, was prevailed on to stay with the greater part at Leyden; Mr. Brewster, their elder, was to accompany the first adventurers; but these, and their brethren remaining in Holland, were to continue to be one church, and to receive each other to Christian communion, without a formal dismission, or testimonial. Several of the congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank, which together with money received from other adventurers, enabled them to purchase the Speedwell, a ship of sixty tons, and to hire in England the Mayflower, a ship of one hundred and eighty tons, for the intended enterprize.

Preparation being thus made, the adventurers having left Leyden for England in July, sailed on the fifth of August from Southampton for America; but, on account of the leakiness of the small ship, they were twice obliged to return. Dismissing this ship, as unfit for the service, they sailed from Plymouth on the sixth of September in the Mayflower. After a boisterous passage, they at break of day on the ninth of November discovered the land of Cape Cod. Perceiving that they had been carried to the northward of the place of their destination, they stood to the southward, intending to find some place near Hudson's river, for settlement. Falling however among shoals [1], they were induced from this incident, together with the consideration of the advanced season of the year, and the weakness of their condition, to relinquish that part of their original design. The master of the ship, availing himself of the fears of the passengers, and of their extreme solicitude to be set on shore, gladly shifted his course to the northward; for he had been clandestinely promised a reward in Holland, if he would not carry the English to Hudson's river [2]. Steering again therefore for the cape, the ship was clear of the danger before night; and the next day, a

1 The same, which Gosnold called Point Care and Tucker's Terror; but which the French and Dutch call Malebar. Prince, 72. See A. D. 1602.

2 Some historians represent this bribery of Jones, the master of the ship, as what was *suspected* merely; but Morton [New Eng. Memorial, 13.] says, "Of this plot, betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence."

storm

storm coming on, they dropped anchor in Cape Cod harbour, where they were secure from winds and shoals.

Finding the harbour to be in the forty-second degree of north latitude, and therefore beyond the territory of the South Virginia company, they perceived that their charter, received from that company, had become useless. Symptoms of faction at the same time appearing among the servants on board, who imagined, that, when on shore, they should be under no government; it was judged expedient, that, before disembarkation, they should combine themselves into a body politic, to be governed by the majority. After solemn prayer and thanksgiving, a written instrument, drawn for that purpose, was accordingly subscribed on board the ship, on the eleventh day of November. This solemn contract was signed by forty-one of their number; and they with their families amounted to one hundred and one persons [1]. Mr. John Carver was now unanimously chosen their governor for one year. Thus did these intelligent colonists find means to erect themselves into a republic, even though they had commenced their enterprize under the sanction of a royal charter; "a case, that is rare in history, and can be effected only by that perseverance, which the true spirit of liberty inspires [2]."

Government being thus established, sixteen men, well armed, with a few others, were sent on shore the same day, to fetch wood, and make discoveries; but they returned at night, without having found any person, or habitation. The company, having rested on the Lord's day, disembarked on Monday, the thirteenth of November; and soon after proceeded to make farther discovery of the country. On Wednesday the fifteenth, Miles Standish and sixteen armed men, in searching for a convenient place for settlement, saw five or six Indians, whom they followed several miles, until night; but, not overtaking them, were constrained to lodge in the woods. The next day they discovered heaps of earth, one of which they dug open; but, finding within implements of war, they concluded these were Indian graves; and therefore, replacing what they had taken out, they left them inviolate. In different heaps of sand they also found baskets of corn, a large quantity of which they carried away in a great kettle, found at the ruins of an Indian house [3]. This providential discovery gave

1 This contract, with the names of its subscribers, is in Morton's Memorial, 16, 17; Purchas, v. 1843; Prince, 84, 85; and Hazard, Coll. i. 119.

2 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 275.

3 This "had been some ship's kettle, and brought out of Europe."

gave them seed for a future harvest, and preserved the infant colony from famine.

Before the close of November Mrs. Susanna White was delivered of a son, who was called Peregrine; and this was the first child of European extraction, born in New England.

On the sixth of December the shallop was sent out with several of the principal men, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, and others, and eight or ten seamen, to sail around the bay, in search of a place for settlement. The next day this company was divided; and, while some travelled on shore, others coasted in the shallop. Early in the morning of the eighth, those on the shore were surprized by a flight of arrows from a party of Indians; but, on the discharge of the English muskets, the Indians instantly disappeared [1]. The shallop, after imminent hazard from the loss of its rudder and mast in a storm, and from shoals which it narrowly escaped, reached a small island on the night of the eighth; and here the company the next day, which was the last day of the week, reposed themselves, with pious gratitude for their preservation. On this island [2] they the next day kept the Christian sabbath. The day following they sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping; went on shore [3], and explored the adjacent land, where they saw various corn fields and brooks; and, judging the situation to be convenient for a settlement, they returned with the welcome intelligence to the ship.

Purchas, v. 1844. In a second excursion a few days after, they discovered near the same place more corn, which, in addition to what they had taken away before, made about ten bushels; the whole of which was afterward paid for, to the entire satisfaction of the natives. This place they called Cornhill; a name, which the inhabitants of Truro (in whose township it lies) have lately consented to revive. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 214. But for the first excursion, this very interesting discovery of the corn would probably not have been made; for, in the second instance, "the ground," says, Mourt's Relation, "was now covered with snow, and so hard frosen, that we were faine with our curtlaxes and short swords, to hew and carve the ground a foote deepe, and then wrest it up with leavers." Purchas, v. 1845.

1 These were the Nauset Indians. Purchas, v. 1849. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 161, 267.

2 It was afterward called Clark's Island, because Mr. Clark, the master's mate, first stepped ashore thereon [Morton, 24.]; and it still retains that name. It is "by the mouth of Plymouth harbour," and in full view of the town. Morton (ibid.) says, it lay between the Gurnet's Nose and Sagaquab; but the Hon. JOHN DAVIS, esquire, informs me, that what is *now* called Saquish (which he supposes to be Sagaquab) lies between Clark's Island and the Gurnet's Nose.

3 *See p.* 170, *note* 4.

On

On the fifteenth they weighed anchor, and proceeded with the ship for this newly discovered port, where they arrived on the following day. On the eighteenth and nineteenth they went on shore for discovery, but returned at night to the ship. On the morning of the twentieth, after imploring divine guidance, they went on shore again, to fix on some place for immediate settlement. Afrer viewing the country, they concluded to settle on a high ground, facing the bay, where the land was cleared, and the water was excellent.

On Saturday the twenty-third, as many of the company, as could with convenience, went on shore, and felled and carried timber to the spot, designated for the erection of a building for common use. On Lord's day the twenty-fourth, the people on shore were alarmed by the cry of Indians, and expected an assault; but they continued unmolested. On Monday the twenty-fifth they begun to build the first house. A platform for their ordnance demanding the earliest attention, they on the twenty-eighth began one on a hill, which commanded an extensive prospect of the plain beneath, of the expanding bay, and of the distant ocean [1]. In the afternoon they divided their whole company into nineteen families; measured out the ground; and assigned to every person by lot half a pole in breadth, and three poles in length, for houses and gardens. Though most of the company were on board the ship on the Lord's day, December thirty-first; yet some of them kept sabbath for the first time in their new house. Here therefore is fixed the æra of their settlement, which, in grateful remembrance of the Christian friends, whom they found at the last town they left in their native country, they called Plymouth. This was the foundation of the first English town, built in New England [2].

After the departure of the adventurers from the coast of England, a new patent, dated the third day of November,

1 This fortification was made on the summit of the hill, on which Plymouth burying ground now lies; and the reliques of it are still visible.

2 Purchas, v. 1842—1849. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 203—222. Morton, 1—25. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xvii. Prince, 71—95. Smith, Virg. 230—233. Josselyn, Voy. 248. I. Mather, N. Eng. 5. "A Relation or Journal of a Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England, and Proceedings thereof," quoted by historians as "Mourt's Relation," and E. Winslow's "Good News from New England," are reprinted, with explanatory Notes by the Editor, in the VIIIth. volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Those Notes and the valuable papers in that volume by the same hand, with the obscure signature of *r. s.* will be read with attention, when it is known, that they were composed by the present Recording Secretary of the Historical Society, the Reverend James Freeman.

was granted by king James to the duke of Lenox, the marquisses of Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, with thirty-four associates, and their successors, styling them, "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of NEW ENGLAND, in America." By this patent that part of the American territory, which lies between the fortieth and the forty-eighth degree of north latitude in breadth, and "in length by all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main land from sea to sea," was given to them in absolute property; the same authority and privileges, which had previously been given to the treasurer and company of Virginia, were now conferred on them; and they were equally empowered to exclude all from trading within the boundaries of their jurisdiction, and from fishing in the neighbouring seas. This patent was the only civil basis of all the subsequent patents and plantations, which divided this country 1.

While the foundation of a new settlement was laid in the north, the Virginian colony was making rapid progress in the south. Eleven ships, which had sailed the preceding year from England, arrived at Virginia, with twelve hundred and sixteen persons for settlement 2. Nearly one thousand colonnists were settled there, previous to this accession 3. One of the methods adopted for the increase of their number, if not the most delicate, was perhaps the most politic. The enterprizing colonists being generally destitute of families, Sir Edwin Sandys, the treasurer, proposed to the Virginia company to send over a freight of young women, to become wives for the planters. The proposal was applauded; and ninety girls, "young and uncorrupt," were sent over in the ships, that arrived this year; and, the year following, sixty more, handsome, and well recommended to the company for their virtuous education and demeanor. The price of a wife, at the first, was one hundred pounds of tobacco; but, as the number became scarce, the price was increased to one hundred and fifty pounds, the value of which, in money, was three shillings per pound. This debt for wives, it was ordered, should have the precedency of all other debts, and be first recoverable 4.

1 Mather, Magnal. i. 4. Prince, 95. Chalmers, i. 81. This patent is in Hazard. Coll. i. 103—118.

2 Smith, Virg. 126. Of these emigrants 650 were destined for the public use, and 611 for private plantations. Ibid.

3 Harris, Voy. i. 840.

4 Stith, 166, 176, 197. Belknap, ii. 68. Chalmers, i. 46.

Be-

Beside the transportation of reputable people, the king commanded the treasurer and council of the Virginia company, to send to Virginia a hundred dissolute persons, to be delivered to them by the knight marshal; and they were accordingly sent over as servants [1]. The early custom of transporting vicious and profligate people to that colony, as a place of punishment and disgrace, though designed for its benefit, yet became ultimately prejudical to its growth and prosperity [2].

The Virginia company, disliking the almost exclusive application of their colony to the culture of tobacco, encouraged various projects for raising articles of more immediate necessity and benefit, and particularly the culture of silk [3]. In conformity to this new policy, one hundred and fifty persons in the colony were sent to set up three iron works; directions were given for making cordage; it was recommended to the people to make pitch, tar, and potashes; and men, with materials, were sent over, for the purpose of erecting several saw mills [4].

A special commission was isued in April by king James, for the inspection of tobacco [5]; and a proclamation in June for restraining the disorderly trading in this obnoxious article [6].

This year is remarkable in Virginian history, for the introduction of freedom into colonial commerce. The monopoly of the treasurer and company, which had depressed the settlement, was relinquished, and the trade laid open to all without restriction [7].

A Dutch ship, putting into Virginia, sold twenty negroes to the colony; and these were the first negroes imported into Virginia [8].

There were at this time but five ministers in Virginia; and eleven boroughs, erected into eleven parishes [9].

1 Smith [Hist. Virg. 127.] says, that 50 servants were, this year, sent for public service; 50, whose labours were *to bring up* 30 *of the infidel's children*; and that others were sent to private planters.

2 Stith, 168.

3 Stith, 183. Belknap, Biog. ii. 70.

4 Stith, 177.

5 Rymer's Fœdera, xvii. 190. Hazard, Coll. i. 89—91, where it is inserted entire. Its title is, "Commissio Specialis concernens le Garbling Herbæ Nicotianæ."

6 Rymer's Fœd. xvii. 233. Hazard, Coll. i. 93—96, where it is inserted entire.

7 Chalmers, i. 49.

8 Smith, Virg. 126, where the Dutch ship is called a man of war. Stith, 182. Univ. Hist. xli. 528. Chalmers, i. 49.

9 Stith, 178.

The

The West India Company of Holland was now established by a charter from the States General, investing it with an exclusive trade to the western coast of Africa, and to the eastern shores of America, from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan 1.

The island Margarita was invaded by the Dutch, who demolished its castle; and after this period it was chiefly abandoned by the Spaniards 2.

About a year after the death of Sir Walter Ralegh, king James granted Roger North a commission to inhabit and settle a colony near the river of Amazons in Guiana; so great however was the influence of Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, that the king in May issued a proclamation to recall him; and another, for regulating the trade with that country 3.

1621.

The Plymouth colonists on the ninth of January proceeded to the erection of their projected town; which they built in two rows of houses for greater security 4. On the fourteenth their Common House, that had been built in December, took fire from a spark, that fell on its thatched roof, and was entirely consumed 5. On the seventeenth of February they met for settling military orders, and having chosen Miles Standish for their captain, conferred on him the power pertaining to that office 6.

On the sixteenth of March an Indian came boldly alone, into the street of Plymouth, and surprized the inhabitants by

1 Chalmers, i. 569. Hazard, Coll. i. 121—181, where the charter is inserted entire.

2 Univ. Hist. xli. 527.

3 Oldys, Life Ral. 223. Rymer's Fœdera, xvii. 215. See p. 158.

4 The same street, which leads from the old church in Plymouth to the water side. It has been proposed by several respectable gentlemen of Plymouth to call it Leyden Street. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 223. It was on the eleventh of December 1620 [See p. 167.] that the venerable fathers of New England first stepped on that ROCK, which is sacredly preserved in memory of their arrival. A ponderous fragment of it has been removed into the main street of Plymouth. The *twenty-second day of December*, new style, corresponding to the eleventh, old style, has been long observed at Plymouth, and several years at Boston, as the Anniversary of the Landing of the Fathers.

5 Purchas, v. 1848. In 1801, in digging a cellar, sundry tools and a plate of iron were discovered seven feet below the surface of the ground on the place, where it is supposed that this common house stood. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 223, and verbal information at Plymouth.

6 Purchas, v. 1849. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 225.

calling

calling out, "Welcome, Englishmen! Welcome, Englishmen!" He was their first visitant; his name was Samoset, a sagamore of the country, lying at the distance of about five days' journey. Having conversed with the English fishermen, who had come to this coast, and learned of them to speak broken English, he informed the Plymouth people, that the place, where they were seated, was called by the Indians Patuxet; that all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, about four years since; and that there was neither man, woman, nor child, remaining[1]. No natives therefore were dispossessed of this territory, to make room for the English, excepting by the providence of God previously to their arrival.

Samoset, treated with hospitality by these strangers, was disposed to preserve an intercourse with them; and, on his third visit, was accompanied by Squanto, one of the natives, who had been carried off by Hunt in 1614, and afterward lived in England. They informed the English, that Masassoit, the greatest king of the neighbouring Indians, was near, with his brother and a number of his people; and within an hour he appeared on the top of a hill[2] over against an English town, with a train of sixty men.

1 "As indeed," adds Mourt's Relation, "we have found none, so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claim unto it." Purchas, v. 1849. The early historians agree in the fact, but differ in regard to the *time* of the plague. Some of them say, it was three or four years before the first arrival of the English at Plymouth; some, that it was two or three; while others place it in 1619, the year preceding the arrival. See Morton, 25; Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 108; Prince, 46; Neal, N. Eng. i. 87. Johnson [Wonderwork. Prov. 16.] says, it was "the summer after the blazing starre," which was seen about three hours above the horizon "for the space of 30 sleeps," or days, and which led the Indians to "expect strange things to follow." This was probably the remarkable comet of 1618, mentioned by Alsted [Thesaurus, Chron. 314, 493.]: "Eod. anno (1618) et seq. fulget horribilis cometa mense Novembri, Decembri, et Januario." If Johnson be correct, and if this were the blazing star, to which he refers, the plague must have been in 1619. Intelligence of its desolating effect had reached England before the charter of Nov. 3, 1620; for in that instrument king James mentions this desolation as a special reason for granting the charter: "Also for that We have been further given certainly to knowe, that within these late yeares there hath by God's visitation raigned a wonderful Plague, together with many horrible slaughters, and murthers, committed amoungst the Savages and bruitish people there, heertofore inhabiting, in a manner to the utter destruction, devastacion, and depopulacion of that whole territorye, so that there is not left for many leagues together in a manner, any that doe claime or challenge any kind of interests therein." Charter, Hazard, Coll. i. 105.

2 Watson's hill, on the south side of Town brook. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 229.

Mu-

Mutual distrust prevented for some time any advances from either side. Squanto at length, being sent to Masassoit, brought back word, that the English should send one of their number to parley with him. Mr. Edward Winslow was accordingly sent. Two knives, and a copper chain, with a jewel in it, were sent to Masassoit at the same time; and to his brother a knife, and a jewel, "with a pot of strong water," a quantity of biscuit, and some butter, all which articles were gladly accepted. Mr. Winslow, the messenger, in a speech to Masassoit, signified that king James saluted him with words of love and peace, and that the English governor desired to see him, and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him, as his next neighbour. The Indian king heard his speech with attention, and approbation. After partaking of the provision, which made part of the English present, and imparting the rest to his company, he looked on Mr. Winslow's sword and armour, with an intimation of his desire to buy it; but found him unwilling to part with it. At the close of the interview, Masassoit, leaving Mr. Winslow in the custody of his brother, went over the brook, which separated him from the English, with a train of twenty men, whose bows and arrows were left behind. He was met at the brook by captain Standish and Mr. Williamson, with six musketeers, who conducted him to a house then in building, where were placed a green rug, and three or four cushions. The governor now advanced, attended with a drum and trumpet, and a few musketeers. After mutual salutations, the governor called for refreshments, of which the Indian king partook himself, and imparted to his followers. A league of friendship was then agreed on[1]; and it was inviolably observed above fifty years[2].

On the following day the English concluded their military orders, with some laws, adapted to their present state. They also confirmed Mr. Carver as their governor the succeeding year; but he died soon after, to the great regret of the colony. He was a man of singular piety, humility, and condescension; and possessed a considerable estate, the greatest part of which he expended in promoting the interests of the infant colony, over which he presided[3]. Soon after his death, Mr. William

1 Purchas, v. 1850; Morton, 26, 27; Prince, 101, 102; Hazard, Coll. 146; Coll. Hist. Soc. viii; in each of which places the articles of this League are preserved.

2 Until king Philip's war, A. D. 1675. Prince, 102. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 225, 226.

3 Morton, 33. The broad sword of governor Carver is preserved in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Brad-

Bradford was chosen governor, and Mr. Isaac Allerton his assistant; and, by renewed elections, they were continued in office several years 1.

A great mortality, that commenced among the people soon after their arrival at Plymouth, swept off half their number within the first three months, leaving scarcely fifty persons remaining 2.

The first marriage in the colony was solemnized on the twelfth of May, between Mr. Edward Winslow, and Mrs. Susanna White 3.

The first duel in New England was fought on the eighteenth of June, on a challenge at single combat with sword and dagger, between two servants; both of whom were wounded. For this outrage they were sentenced by the whole company to the ignominious punishment of having the head and feet tied together, and of lying thus twenty-four hours, without meat or drink. After suffering, however, in that painful posture one hour, at their master's intercession, and their humble request, with the promise of amendment, they were released by the governor 4.

Governor Bradford, by advice of the company, sent Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins, with Squanto for their guide to Masassoit, to explore the country; to confirm the league; to learn the situation and strength of their new friend; to carry some presents; to apologize for some supposed injuries: to regulate the intercourse between the English and the Indians; and to procure seed corn for the next planting season. They lodged the first night at Namasket 5. In some places, they

1 Morton, 31. Prince, 104, 105.

2 Morton, 24, 25. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 45. Tradition gives an affecting picture of the infant colony, during this critical and distressing period. The dead were buried on the bank, at a little distance from the rock where the fathers landed; and, lest the Indians should take advantage of the weak and wretched state of the English, the graves were levelled, and sown, for the purpose of concealment. This information I received at Plymouth from deacon Ephraim Spooner, a respectable inhabitant of that town, who accompanied me to the spot where those first interments were made. Human bones have been washed out of the bank by high tides, within the memory of the present generation. Deacon Spooner, now upwards of seventy years of age, had his information from Mr. Thomas Faunce, who was a ruling elder in the first church in Plymouth, and was well acquainted with several of the first settlers. Elder Faunce knew the rock, on which they first landed; and, hearing that it was covered in the erection of a wharf, was so affected, that he wept. His tears perhaps saved it from oblivion. He died 27 Feb. 1746, Ætat. xcix.

3 Prince, 105. 4 Ibid.

5 A town under Masassoit. It was that part of Middleborough, which the English afterward first planted. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 148.

found

found the country almost depopulated by the plague, which had desolated the neighbourhood of Patuxet. They passed through fine old corn fields, and pasture grounds, that were destitute of cattle and of inhabitants. Skulls and bones appeared in many places where the Indians had dwelt. On their arrival at Pokannoket[1], the place of Masassoit's residence, forty miles from Plymouth, they were kindly welcomed by that Indian sovereign, who renewed his assurances of continuing the peace and friendship[2].

After the league with Masassoit, Corbitant, one of his petty sachems, becoming discontented, meditated to join the Narragansets, who were inimical to the English; and he was now at Namasket, attempting to alienate the subjects of Masassoit from their king. Squanto and Hobomack, two faithful friends of the English, going at this time to Namasket, to make observation, were threatened with death by Corbitant, who seized

1 Pokanoket was a general name for the northern shore of Narraganset Bay, between Providence and Taunton rivers, comprehending the present townships of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington, in the State of Rhode Island, and Swanzey in Massachusetts The principal seats of Masassoit were at Sowams and Kikemuit. The former is a neck of land formed by the confluence of Barrington and Palmer's rivers; the latter is Mount Hope. Belknap, Biog. ii. 221. Callender, Cent. Disc. 30.

2 Purchas, v. 1851, 1852. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 232—237. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 53. Morton, 34, 35. Prince, 105—107. Belknap, Biog. ii. 220, 221. The manner of reception and treatment of the envoys at the court of Masassoit is worthy of notice. When the king had taken them into his house, and seated them, he heard their message, and received their presents. He then put on a horseman's red coat, and a chain about his neck, these having been among the presents, and "was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired." Having given a friendly answer to the message, his men gathered around him; and, turning himself to them, he addressed them in a speech: "Am not I, Masassoit, commander of the country around you? Is not such a town mine, and the people of it? Will you not bring your skins to to the English?" After this manner he named at least thirty places, to every one of which they gave an answer of consent and applause. At the close of his speech he lighted tobacco for the envoys, and proceeded to discourse about England, and the English king, wondering that he would live without a wife. He talked also of the Frenchmen, bidding the English not to suffer them to come to Narraganset, for it was king James' country, and he was king James' man. It now grew late, "but victuals he offered none; for indeed he had not any," having but just returned home. The envoys therefore, finding no prospect of refreshment, but from sleep, desired to go to rest; yet they were disappointed of repose. "Hee laid us," says the narrator, "on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and wee at the other, it being onely plaukes laid a foot from the ground, and a thinne matte upon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and upon us; so that wee were worse wearie of our lodging then of our journey." Purchas, v. 1852.

and

and detained Squanto, but Hobomack made his escape. To counteract the machinations of Corbitant, and to liberate Squanto, the governor, with the advice of the company, sent Miles Standish and fourteen men, with Hobomack for their guide, to Namasket. On their arrival, the Indians of Corbitant's faction fled. The design of the English expedition was explained to the natives of the place, with menaces of revenge, in case of insurrection against Masassoit, or of violence to any of his subjects [1].

This resolute enterprize struck such terror into the neighbouring Indians, that their chiefs came in, and solicited the friendship of the English. On the thirteenth of September nine Sachems voluntarily came to Plymouth, and subscribed an instrument of submission to king James [2]. It was peculiarly happy for the colony, that it had secured the friendship of Masassoit; for his influence was very extensive. He was reverenced and regarded by all the natives from the bay of Narraganset to that of Massachusetts. The submission of the nine sachems is ascribed to their mutual connection with this sovereign, as its primary cause. Other princes under him made also a similar submission, among whom are mentioned those of Pamet, Nauset, Cummaquid, and Namasket, with several others about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts [3].

The colonists judging it expedient to send to the Massachusetts, to discover the Bay, see the country, make peace, and trade with the natives; the governor chose ten men, who, accompanied by Squanto and two other Indians, sailed in the shallop, upon that enterprize, on the eighteenth of September. Arriving the next day at the bottom of the bay, they landed under a cliff [4], and were kindly received by Obbatinua, the sachem, who had subscribed the submission at Plymouth a few days before. He renewed his submission, on receiving their promise of assistance against the Tarratines, and the squaw sachem of Massachusetts, who were his enemies. Having explored the bay, and collected some beaver, they returned to Plymouth [5].

On the eleventh of November Robert Cushman arrived at Plymouth in a ship from England, with thirty-five persons,

1 Morton, 35. Prince, 110.

2 Prince, 111; Belknap, Biog. ii. 223; Hazard, Coll. i. 147; where are their names, among which appear those of Caunbitant [supposed Corbitant]; Obbatinua, a sachem of Massachusetts Bay; and Chikkatabak, sachem of Neponset.

3 Belknap, Biog. ii. 223. Prince, 112.

4 Supposed to be Copp's Hill in Boston. Belknap, Biog. ii. 224.

5 Morton, 36. Prince, 112, 113. Belknap, Biog. ii. 224.

destined

destined to remain in the colony. By this arrival the Plymouth colonists received a charter, procured for them by the adventurers in London, who had been originally concerned with them in the enterprize; and they now acknowledged the extraordinary blessing of Heaven, in directing their course into this part of the country, where they had happily obtained permission to possess and enjoy the territory under the authority of the president and council for the affairs of New England [1]. The ship, with a freight of beaver skins, clapboards, and other articles, collectively estimated at nearly five hundred pounds, sailed on the thirteenth of December; but, drawing near the English coast, was seized by the French, carried to France, and robbed of all that was valuable. The people at length obtained a release for themselves and their ship, and in February arrived at London [2].

On the departure of this ship from Plymouth, the governor and his assistant disposed the people, who had come over for residence, into several families; and restricted the settlers to half allowance of provisions, which were estimated to be scarcely sufficient, at that reduced rate, for six months [3].

Sir Francis Wyat, appointed governor of Virginia, arrived there with nine sail of ships, and nearly seven hundred people [4]. He now brought an ordinance and constitution of the treasurer, council, and company in England, for settling the government of that colony in a governor, a council of state, as his assistants, and a general assembly. This ordinance "is no less remarkable for the wisdom of its provisions, than for being the principal step in the progress of freedom." It ordained, that two burgesses should be chosen for the assembly, by every town, hundred, or particular plantation. All matters were to be decided by the majority of voices in the assembly, reserving to the governor a negative on the whole; but no law or ordinance, though approved by the three branches of the legislature, was to be of force, until ratified by the general court of the company in England, and returned under its seal; no order of the general court, on the other hand, was to bind the colony, until assented to by the assembly [5]. Thus, at the expiration of fourteen years from the settlement of the

1 Prince, 114, 115, from Mourt's Relation.
2 Prince, 115.
3 Ibid. and Smith, Virg. 234.
4 Purchas, v. 1783. They sailed from England in July. Chalmers, 56.
5 This ordinance, dated July 24, 1621, is inserted entire in Stith, Virg. Appendix, No. xv; and Hazard, Coll. i. 131—133. See also Stith, 196; Chalmers i. 54, 55; Jefferson, Virg. Query xxiii.

colony

colony, its constitution became fixed; and the colonists are from this time to be considered, not merely as servants of a commercial company, but as freemen and citizens [1].

With the Virginian constitution Wyat brought a body of instructions to the governor for the time being, and the council of state, recommending primarily to them, "to take into their special regard the service of Almighty God, and the observance of his divine laws; and that the people should be trained up in true religion and virtue;" commanding them, in the next place, to keep the people in due obedience to the king; to provide for the equal administration of justice according to the forms and constitution of England; to prevent all corruption, tending to the perversion or delay of justice; to protect the natives from injury and oppression; and to cultivate peace and friendship with them, as far as it should be consistent with the honour of the nation, and safety of the people [2].

William Newce obtained a patent of land in Virginia, for settlement, and was constituted marshal of Virginia, to take into his charge as well the fortifications, arms, and forces of the colony, as to cause the people to be duly trained up in military discipline. To the office were annexed fifteen hundred acres of land, and fifty tenants [3].

It was determined to build a school in Virginia, at Charles city, which was judged to be a place the most convenient to all parts of the colony; and it was named *The East India School*. The company allotted, for the maintenance of the master and usher, a thousand acres of land, with five servants and an overseer [4]. This school was to be collegiate, and to have dependence on the college at Henrico; into which, as soon as the college should be sufficiently endowed, and capable of receiving students, pupils were to be admitted, and advanced according to their deserts and proficiency in learning [5].

The Virginia company having ordered a hundred acres of land in each of the boroughs to be laid off for a glebe, and two hundred pounds sterling to be raised, as a standing and certain revenue, out of the profits of each parish, to make a living; this stipend was thus settled: That the minister shall

1 Robertson, book ix. 87.

2 Smith, Virg. 139, 140. Stith, 194.

3 Stith. 189. Newce died soon after his arrival. Ibid.

4 An account in Purchas [v. 1783.] says, that seven persons were sent "for the planting the thousand acres."

5 Stith, 204; who says (ibid.), that carpenters were sent over to erect the house for this school, early the next year.

receive yearly fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco, and sixteen barrels of corn; which were collectively estimated at two hundred pounds sterling 1. There were at this time five ministers only in the colony 2.

The English parliament resolved, "that all foreign tobacco shall be barred; but that of Virginia, or any of the king's dominions, shall not be held foreign." A bill, for the restraint of the inordinate use of tobacco, was soon after brought in, which, after various amendments, passed in May. Its requisitions are very remarkable. No tobacco was to be imported, after the first of October, 1621, but from Virginia and the Somer Isles; and, after that day, none was to be planted in England. There was to be paid to the king, for custom, sixpence a pound, in consideration of the loss, which he might sustain in his revenue. None was to be sold by the merchant for more than eight shillings, and by the retailer none for more than ten shillings, the pound; but they, who should sell tobacco by the pipe, might make the most they could 3. This

1 Ibid. 173.

2 Chalmers, i. 50.

3 Chalmers, i. 51. The parliamentary debate on this subject is inserted ibid. 70—74. A specimen of it will give an idea of the whole.

"Mr. Cary:—To banish tobacco generally, and to help Virginia by some other means.

Sir Edward Sackvyle:—Fit for us to study a way for us to enrich our own state. *Amor incipit a scipso.* We make treaties for our own good, and not for their's with whom we treat [*Referring to Spain.*]

Sir J. Perrot:—Not to banish all tobacco, in respect of Virginia and the Somer Isles. To give them some time; else overthroweth the plantation.

Mr. Solicitor:—Loveth England better than Virginia. A great hurt to all the state of our kingdom. To contribute rather to Virginia otherwise.

Mr. Ferrar:—Not fit to banish all; yet now 4000 English live there, who have no means as yet to live on.

Sir George Moore:—To divide the question: 1st. Whether to banish foreign: 2dly. For our own dominions.

Sir Guy Palmes:—That tobacco hindreth all the kingdom in health and otherwise. To banish all.

Sir H. Poole:—Against all in general:—To pull it up by the roots. To help Virginia otherwise.

Sir J. Horsey:—Thought not to speak of this vile weed. When he first a parliament-man, this vile weed not known. Thousands have died of this vile weed. Abhorreth it the more, because the king disliketh it. Prohibited to be used in ale houses. No good ground for Virginia. To banish all."

It was in vain that parliament discouraged the use of this vile weed. In vain king James assured his subjects, that the smoking of it was a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, and dangerous to the lungs. Opposition made proselytes; and the united influence of fashion and habit extended the practice through the kingdom. See Chalmers, i. 111.

is the first instance, which occurs, of the modern policy of promoting the importation of the colonies, in preference to the productions of foreign nations[1].

The measures of king James embarrassed not the company only, but the plantation. Individuals, who had suffered extremely from the irregularity of his conduct, and from these exclusive regulations, applied to parliament for redress. During the debate on the subject, two planters of Virginia complained of the irregularities of the farmers of the revenue. A committee was appointed, "to examine this business, and to consider in what manner to relieve them, with power to send for the patentees, and to see the patents; yet no relief was obtained. The treasurer and company of Virginia addressed another petition to king James; but, obtaining nothing, they sought a more effectual remedy of their evils. They procured warehouses, and appointed factors, at Middleburgh and Flushing, and compounded with the magistrates of those towns at the rate of a penny a pound on the import, and the same on the export, of their only merchandize. King James soon felt the ill effects of his own mistaken policy. No Virginian products were exported to England this year; all were sent to Holland. The defalcation of the revenue, which was the immediate effect, occasioned an order in October, that no tobacco, or other productions of the colonies, should thenceforth be carried into foreign parts, until they were first landed in England, and the custom paid. This order however was either disregarded or eluded; for tobacco was still sent from Virginia, and even from the Somer Isles, to Holland[2].

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, intrusted with the principal direction of the affairs of the Plymouth company, reflecting on the prodigious extent of the region to be planted, and on the little progress of colonization, conceived the design of persuading the Scotch nation to form a settlement within the limits of New England. Easily procuring the consent of the company, and the approbation of Sir William Alexander of Menstry, a person of considerable influence, he prosecuted that enterprize; and king James gave Alexander a patent of the whole territory of Acadie, by the name of Nova Scotia[3]. It was erected

1 Chalmers, i. 51.

2 Chalmers, i. 51, 52. Robertson, book ix. 87, 88.

3 It was bounded on the north, east, and south by the river St. Lawrence and the ocean; and on the west by the river St. Croix. See the charter, in the Latin original, in Hazard, Coll. i. 134—145. Chalmers, i. 91, 92. It was given under the great seal of SCOTLAND; yet, as Chalmers remarks, "it would probably have embarrassed the wisest civilian of

erected into a palatinate, to be holden as a fief of the crown of Scotland; and the proprietary was invested with the accustomed regal power, belonging to a count palatine. An unsuccessful attempt was soon after made to effect a settlement of the territory; and the French continued their occupancy [1].

The States General of Holland, historians affirm, made a grant of the country of New Netherlands to the West India company [2]; but the English deny, that they had power to grant what had been given to the Plymouth company, the year before, by the king of England [3].

Sir George Calvert, a Roman Catholic, having obtained from the king of England a grant of part of Newfoundland, that he might enjoy in this retreat, that freedom of conscience, which was denied him in his own country, sent Edward Wynne with a small colony to that island, to make preparation for his reception. The proprietor, now created lord Baltimore, was so delighted with the account, which he received, of the flourishing state of the colony, that he afterward re-

that kingdom to discover by what right the king of Scotland conveyed that extensive dominion."

1 Chalmers, 91. Belknap, Biog. ii. 55. Purchas, v. 1871, 1873. Sir William the next year sent a ship with a colony "of purpose to plant:" but the season was so late, that they were obliged to stay through the winter at Newfoundland. Another ship with provisions was sent the next year (1623;) yet, "by reason of some unexpected occasions," they resolved not to plant then, but merely to discover and take possession. Sailing from Newfoundland, they coasted along the shore of Nova Scotia, and on Port Joli river found a fit place for a plantation. Returning to Newfoundland in July, they left their ship there, and took passage for England, with the intention of resuming the enterprize of planting a colony the next year. Purchas, ibid. Laet, 62. Both these writers stop here, in their accounts of Nova Scotia, excepting Laet's mention of the change of the old names of places by the Scotch patentee: "Quid post illa in illis partibus gestum sit, mihi non constat; nisi quod nomina harum provinciarum à Wilhelmo Alexandro mutata inveni, in tabula Geographica nuper in Anglia excusa... Cadia *Nova Caledonia*, septent. pars *Nova Alexandria* nominatur..." &c.

2 Smith, New York, 3.

3 Chalmers, i. 570. Chalmess (ibid. 569.) says, that this charter of New Netherlands, given by the States General, though often mentioned by writers, and relied on by governors, has neither been given by them to the world; nor have they informed us where it may be found. Laet asserts the fact, but without adducing any authority. Having mentioned the administration of H. Christiaens, and a subsequent one of J. Elkens, under the auspices of the States General, he adds, that the Hollanders thus held North River several years, until it began to be settled by the West India company under a new and most ample patent from those States:—"atque ita nostri ab anno CIↃIↃCXIV ad aliquot succedentes tenuerunt: Donec à societate Indiæ Occidentalis, novo et amplissimo eorundam præpotentum Dominorum diplomate ipsis concesso, porro ab ipsis hoc flumen adiri et coloniis deductis amplius habitari cæpit." Nov. Orb. 73. See A. D. 1614.

moved

moved to it with his family; built a house, and a strong fort, at Ferryland; and resided on the island many years [1].

1622.

The Narraganset Indians, conscious of their power [2], aspired at an extension of empire on the ruins of their neighbours, who had been wasted by mortal diseases. The English, they foresaw, might be an obstacle to their ambition; for Masassoit, their own most potent rival, had already taken shelter under their wings. No sooner therefore did Canonicus, the chief sachem of the Narragansets, understand that the people of Plymouth were distressed by the burden of additional settlers, without proportionate means for their support, than he bade defiance to their power. Regardless of the peace, recently concluded, his tribe first offered them repeated menaces; and he next sent to them, as a signal of challenge, a bundle of arrows, tied together with a snake skin [3]. The governor, having taken advice, sent an answer, That if they chose war, rather than peace, they might begin when they would; that the English had done them no wrong; nor did they fear them, nor should they find them unprovided. By a different messenger, and in more direct acceptance of the challenge, the snake skin was sent back, charged with powder and bullets. The Indians however refused to receive it. They were even afraid to let it continue in their houses; and it was at length brought back to Plymouth [4]. Although policy dictated this resolute measure, on the part of the English; yet prudence required them to use the means of farther security. They accordingly impaled the town [5] and fortified it, and erected in four bulwarks

1 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 250. Chalmers [i. 201.] says, that Calvert established the settlement at Ferryland the *next* year [1622,] and governed it by his deputy; and that he visited it in person in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. The original English appellation of the territory, ceded to him, was Avalon. Ibid.

2 Prince [116.] says, they could raise above 5000 fighting men. Gookin, who was his authority, received his information from "ancient Indians;" and says, "all do agree they were a great people, and oftentimes waged war with the Pawkunnawkutts and Massachusetts, as well as with the Pequots." Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 148.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 56. There is a remarkable coincidence, in the form of this challenge, with that of the challenge given by the Scythian prince to Darius. Five arrows made a part of the present, sent by his herald to the Persian king. See Rollin, Ancient Hist. book vi. sect. 4.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 58. Prince, 116. Morton, 87; but he places this article at the close of 1621.

5 "Taking in the top of the hill under which our town is seated." Gov. Bradford, in Prince, 116.

or jetties three gates, which were guarded every day, and locked every night. In the succeeding summer, they built a strong and handsome fort, with a flat roof and battlement, on which cannon were mounted, and a watch kept; it was also used as a place of public worship [1].

Thomas Weston, a merchant of good reputation in London, having procured himself a patent for a tract of land in Massachusetts Bay, sent two ships with fifty or sixty men, at his own charge, to settle a plantation [2]. Many of these adventurers being sick on their arrival at Plymouth, most of the company remained there during the greater part of the summer, and were treated with hospitality and kindness by the inhabitants. Some of their number, in the mean time, finding a place in the Bay of Massachusetts, named Wessagusset, which they judged convenient for settlement, the whole company removed to it, and began a plantation [3].

What had been dreaded merely at Plymouth, was experienced in all it horrors in her sister colony. By a preconcerted conspiracy, the Indians in the neighbourhood of Virginia, on the twenty-seventh of March, fell on the English, three hundred and forty-seven of whom, unresisting and defenceless, were cruelly massacred. The massacre was conducted with indiscriminate barbarity. No regard was shown to dignity; no gratitude for benefits. Six of the council were slain, one of whom, Mr. George Thorpe, a very respectable and pious man, who had the principal management of the lands and affairs of the college, had been a distinguished friend and benefactor of the Indians [4]. An exterminating war between the En-

1 Prince, 116, 121. Intelligence of the massacre in Virginia reached Plymouth in May, and was the immediate incitement to the erection of this fort. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. 58. Mather, Magnal. book i. 10.

2 Prince, 119. Weston was one of the merchant adventurers, who, in 1619, sent proposals to Leyden for transporting the English Congregation to America. He appears to have been active in promoting the Plymouth settlement from that time until this year. Why he now withdrew his patronage we are not informed; but by a letter from him, received at this time, addressed to gvernor Carver, "we find," says governor Bradford, "he has quite deserted us, and is going to settle a Plantation of his own." See Prince, 65, 70, 114, 118.

3 Morton, 44. Mather, Magnal. i. 11. Prince, 120, 121. See A. D. 1624.

4 Smith, Virg. 144—149, where are the names of the persons, who were massacred. Purchas, v. 1788—1790. Beverly, 61, 62. Keith, 138. Stith, 211. Nemattanow, a famous Indian warrior, believed by the natives to be invulnerable, was killed by the English in 1621; and Keith [137.] says, it was in revenge of his death, that Opehancanough plotted this massacre. Chalmers [58.] says, "it ought to be observed, that the emigrants, notwithstanding the humane instructions of their sovereign, and the prudent orders

English and the Indians immediately succeeded the massacre. The people, concerned in the care and culture of the college lands, experiencing a great slaughter, those lands were now abandoned; and no public institution was again attempted for the benefit of the natives of Virginia, until benefactions were made by the Honourable Robert Boyle [1].

To the horrors of massacre were soon superadded the miseries of famine. Of eighty plantations, which were advancing fast toward completion, eight only remained; and of the numerous people, who had been transported to Virginia at a great expence, eighteen hundred only survived these disasters [2].

Much as the colony lost of its inhabitants and possessions by the recent calamities, its losses were considerably counterbalanced by supplies from the parent country. From May 1621 to May 1622, twenty ships transported thirteen hundred persons, and eighty cattle, from England to Virginia [3]. King James made the colonists a present of arms out of the Tower, and lent them twenty barrels of powder; lord St. John, of Basing, gave them sixty coats of mail; the city of London, and many private persons, made them generous contributions [4].

orders of the company, had never been solicitous to cultivate the good will of the aborigines; and had neither asked permission when their country was occupied, nor had given a price for invaluable property, which was taken without authority."

1 Stith, 217, 295. Mr. Boyle's donation was annexed to the professorships of William and Mary college, as a sixth professorship, for the instruction of the Indians and their conversion to Christianity. Jefferson, Virg. Query xv.

2 Purchas, v. 1792. Chalmers, i. 59. In the year 1620 there were about 2216 inhabitants in Virginia. [See p. 168 of this volume.] In 1621 governor Wyat brought over nearly 700, which addition makes 2916. Deduct from this number 347 for the loss in the massacre, and the remainder is 2519. If, as Purchas leads us to believe, there were 1800 left after the massacre and famine, upwards of 700 are still unaccounted for. The *natural deaths* in the colony since 1620 may partly account for this deficiency; but some *accessions* to it have probably been omitted, which might counterbalance that loss. It is indeed expressly said [Purchas, v. 1785.], that "in the yeeres 1619, 1620, and 1621, there hath beene provided and sent for Virginia two and fortie saile of ships, *three thousand five hundred and seventie men and women* for plantation, with requisite provisions." I am inclined therefore, to ascribe this extraordinary reduction in part to an *emigration from the colony*, seldom noticed by historians. It is affirmed, that several English families, to shun the massacre in Virginia, fled to the Carolinian coasts, and settled at a place called Mallica, near the river May. It is also affirmed, that they converted the inhabitants of the neighbouring Apalaches. Atlas Geographus Americ. v. 688. Univ. Hist. xl. 420. Brit. Emp. iii. 210. This last history says, they were *driven* on the coasts of Carolina; which seems to imply, that they made their escape by water.

3 Purchas, v. 1783.

4 Smith, Virg. 147. Stith, 233. Univ. Hist. xli. 529.

Such had now become the extent of the settlements, and the number of the inhabitants, in the Virginian colony, that it was found very inconvenient, to bring all causes to James Town. Inferior courts were therefore appointed in convenient places, to relieve the governor and council from the heavy burden of business, and to render justice less expensive, and more accessible, to the people. This is the origin of county courts in Virginia [1].

The tobacco, exported from Virginia to England, on an average for the last seven years, was one hundred forty-two thousand and eighty-five pounds a year [2]. Previous to the massacre, a successful experiment of wine had been made in that colony; and a specimen of it was now sent to England [3].

The English had now ten forts at Bermudas; three thousand people; and fifty pieces of ordnance [4].

Thirty-five ships sailed this year from the west of England, and two from London, to fish on the New England coasts; and made profitable voyages [5].

The Plymouth company having complained to king James of the encroachments and injuries of interlopers on their American commerce and possessions, and applied to him for relief; the king issued a proclamation, commanding, that none should frequent the coasts of New England, but the adventurers and planters; or traffick with the Indians otherwise, than by the licence of the council of Plymouth, or according to the orders of the privy council. "This remarkable edict, far from proving beneficial to the company, really brought on its dissolution [6]."

All the colony of Quebec, at this period of Canadian annals, consisted of no more than fifty persons, men, women, and children. An establishment however had been formed at

1 Beverly, 60. Stith, 207. Brit. Emp. iii. 68.

2 Stith, 246.

3 Ibid, 218. French vine-dressers, brought over to Virginia in 1621, wrote to the English company, that the Virginian climate and soil surpass the province of Languedoc. Beverly, 191.

4 Josselyn, Voy. 250. In the years 1619, 1620, 1621, there were sent to Bermudas 9 ships, employing 240 mariners, and carrying about 900 people for settlement. Purchas, v. 1785.

5 Smith's N. Eng. Tryals, in Purchas, v. 1840—1842. "Where in Newfoundland they shared sixe or seven pounds for a common man, in New England they shared fourteene pounds; besides six Dutch and French ships made wonderfull returnes in furres." Ibid.

6 Chalmers, i. 91. This Proclamation, dated 6 November, is in Hazard, Coll. i. 151, 152; and in Rymer's Fœdera, xvii 416; and is entitled, "A Proclamation, prohibiting interloping, and disorderly trading to New England in America."

Trois

Trois Rivieres; and a brisk trade continued to be carried on at Tadoussac [1].

1623.

Intelligence being received at Plymouth, that Masassoit was likely to die, and that a Dutch ship was driven ashore near his house, the governor sent Edward Winslow and John Hambden [2] with Hobomack, to visit and assist him, and to speak with the Dutch. They found Masassoit extremely ill; but, by some cordials, which Winslow administered, he revived. After their departure Hobomack informed them, that Masassoit had privately charged him to tell Mr. Winslow, that there was a plot of the Massachusetts against Weston's people at Wessagusset; that, lest the English of Plymouth should avenge their countrymen, they also were to be destroyed; and that the Indians of Paomet, Nauset, Mattachiest [3], Succonet, the Isle of Capawick, Manomet [4], and Agawaywom, had joined with the Massachusetts in this conspiracy; and that he advised them to kill the conspirators, as the only means of security.

The governor, on receiving this intelligence, which was confirmed by other evidences, ordered Standish to take with him as many men, as he should judge sufficient, and, if a plot should be discovered, to fall on the conspirators. Standish, with eight men, sailed to the Massachusetts, where the natives, suspecting his design, insulted and threatened him. Watching his opportunity, when four of them, Wittuwamet [5], Pecksuot [6], ano-

1 Champlain, Voy. II. partie, 49. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 158. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 419.

2 Mr. Hambden is said to have been a gentleman of London, who then wintered with the Plymouth colonists, and "desired much to see the country" [Winslow, Relat.]; and is supposed by Dr. Belknap [Biog. ii. 229.] to be the same person, who afterward distinguished himself by his opposition to the arbitrary demands of Charles I.

3 This seems to be the country between Barnstable and Yarmouth harbours. Prince, 108. Belknap, Biog. ii. 313.

4 This is the name of a creek or river, which runs through the town of Sandwich into the upper part of Buzzard's Bay, formerly called Manomet Bay. Between this and Scusset Creek is the place, which, for more than a century, has been thought of as proper to be cut through, to form a communication by a navigable canal, from Barnstable Bay to Buzzard's Bay. Prince, 126. Belknap, Biog. ii. 314.

5 A chief of the Massachusetts, said to be "a notable insulting Indian." Prince, 128.

6 "A notable Pinese, i. e. Counsellor and Warrior." Ibid. 131. Winslow says, Pecksuot had made the point of his knife as sharp as a needle, and

another Indian, and a youth of eighteen, brother of Wittuwamet, and about as many of his own men, were in the same room, he gave a signal to his men; the door was instantly shut; and, snatching the knife of Pecksuot from his neck, he killed him with it, after a violent struggle: his party killed Wittuwamet, and the other Indian; and hung the youth. Proceeding to another place, Standish killed an Indian; and afterward had a skirmish with a party of Indians, which he put to flight. Weston's men also killed two Indians. Standish, with that generosity, which characterizes true bravery, released the Indian women, without taking their beaver coats, or allowing the least incivility to be offered them. The English settlers now abandoned Wessagusset; and their plantation was thus broken up, within a year after its commencement. Standish, having supplied them with corn, and conducted them safely out of Massachusetts Bay in a small ship of their own, returned to Plymouth, bringing the head of Wittuwamet, which he set up on the fort. This sudden and unexpected execution so terrified the other natives, who had intended to join the Massachusetts in the conspiracy, that they forsook their houses, and fled to swamps and desert places, where they contracted diseases, which proved mortal to many of them; among whom were Canacum, sachem of Manomet; Aspinet, sachem of Nauset; and Ianough, sachem of Mattachiest [1].

A severe drought prevailing at this time in Plymouth, the government set apart a solemn day of humiliation and prayer; and soon after, in grateful and pious acknowledgement of the blessings of copious showers, and supplies of provisions, a day of public thanksgiving [2].

The first patent of Plymouth had been taken out in the name of John Pierce, in trust for the company of adventurers; but when he saw the promising state of their settlement, and the favour, which their success had obtained for them with

and ground the back also to an edge. Purchas, v. 1864. The natives were in the habit of wearing knives, suspended at the breast, in sheaths tied about the neck. One of these Indian sheaths, a part of the spoils in the old wars with the French and Indians, is in my possession. It is seven inches long, and terminates in a point. It is made of leather, curiously wrought with some hard but pliant substance, of various colours, and trimmed at the upper edge with a fringe with little pendant rolls of brass or some other metal. It was probably manufactured by the French.

1 Purchas, v. 1860—1865. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 257—263. Mather, Magnal. book i. 11. Morton, 47. Prince, 128—132. I. Mather, N. Eng. 14—16. Belknap, Biog. ii. 314—327.

2 Purchas, v. 1866. Prince, 137, 138.

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the council for New England, he, without their knowledge, but in their name, procured another patent, of larger extent, intending to keep it for his own benefit, and hold the adventurers as his tenants, to sue and be sued at his courts. In pursuance of this design, he, in the autumn of the last year, and beginning of this, made repeated attempts to send a ship to New England; but it was forced back by storms. In the last attempt, the mariners, about the middle of February, were obliged, in a terrible storm, to cut away their main mast, and return to Portsmouth. Pierce was then on board, with one hundred and nine souls. After these successive losses, he was prevailed on by the company of adventurers, to assign to them, for five hundred pounds, the patent, which had cost him but fifty. The goods, with the charge of passengers in this ship, cost the company six hundred and forty pounds. Another ship was hired, to tranpsort the passengers and goods; and it arrived at Plymouth in July. Soon after arrived a new vessel, of forty-four tons, which the company had built, to remain in the country; both brought supplies for the plantation, and about sixty passengers [1].

John Mason, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, having obtained patents of the New England council for several portions of territory, sent over, in the spring of this year, David Tomson, Edward and William Hilton, and a few other persons, to begin a settlement. Tomson and some of his company began one accordingly, twenty-five leagues north east from Plymouth, near Smith's Isles, at a place called Pascataquack. The place, first seized, was called Little Harbour, on the west side of Pascataqua river, and near its mouth; where was built the first house, called Mason Hall [2].

The Hiltons, proceeding higher up the river, settled at Cocheco, afterward called Dover [3]. Scattered settlements

1 Morton, 50—53. Mather, Magnal. book i. 12. Prince, 136—139. Neal, New England, i. 113, 115. Belknap, Biog. ii. 234, 235.

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxi. The chimney and some part of the stone wall of this house were standing when Hubbard wrote his history. Ib. Tomson, from dislike either of the place, or of his employers, removed within a year after into Massachusetts, where he possessed himself of a fertile island, and a valuable neck of land †, which was afterward confirmed to him, or his heirs, by the Massachusetts court, on the surrender of all his other interest in New England. Ibid. chap. xviii. He *visited* Plymouth in 1623. Purchas, v. 1807.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxi. Prince, 134. But few buildings were erected about Pascataqua river until after the year 1631. In *that year*, there were but three houses there. Hubbard, ut supra.

† *Squantum neck. Belk. Biog.* ii. 334.

were

were also begun this year by different adventurers, at Monahigan, and at other places [1].

Francis West arrived at Plymouth in June, with a commission to be admiral of New England, with power to restrain such ships, as came either to fish or trade on the coast, without licence from the New England council; but, finding the fishermen too stubborn and strong for him, he sailed for Virginia. The owners of the fishing vessels, complaining to the parliament of this attempted restraint, procured an order, that fishing should be free [2].

Robert Gorges, son of Ferdinando, sent by the Plymouth council as general governor of New England, arrived at Massachusetts Bay with several passengers and families; and purposed to begin a plantation at Wessagusset; but he returned home, without scarcely saluting the country within his government. Gorges brought with him William Morrell, an episcopal minister, who had a commision from the ecclesiastical courts in England, to exercise a kind of superintendence over the churches, which were, or might be, established in New England; but he found no opportunity to execute his commision [3]. This was the first essay for the establishment of a general government in New England; but, like every succeeding attempt, it was totally unsucessful [4].

Notwithstanding the late disasters in Virginia, there were now in that colony above two thousand five hundred persons, sent over at the expence of thirty thousand pounds of the public stock, beside the charges of particular societies and planters [5]. The cattle were increased to above a thousand head. The debt of the company was wholly discharged. During the four last years, great sums were expended, and

1 Prince, 134.

2 Morton, 52. Prince, 137.

3 Gorges soon returned to England. Morrell staid behind, and resided at Plymouth about a year, making inquiries and observations respecting the country; the result of which he wrought into an elegant and descriptive Latin poem, which, with his own English translation, is published in vol. i. p. 125—139 of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

4 Morton, 54—57. Prince, 141, 142. Belknap, Biog. i. 367—369. The grant of the council for the affairs of New England to Robert Gorges is in Hazard, Coll. i. 152—155.

5 Smith [Virg. 236.] says, since he left the colony the Virginia company had been "humble suiters to his majesty, to get vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither; nay, so the business hath been abused, that so much scorned was the name of Virginia, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would goe thither, and were." Not long after the massacre however, he remarks, "there is more honest men now suiters to goe, than ever hath beene constrained knaves."

much

much care was bestowed, by the officers and company, for promoting useful arts manufactures; particularly iron works wine, silk, sawing mills, and saltpans. Numerous Indians, of various tribes, contiguous to the Virginian colony, were killed this year by the English; among the slain, were some of their kings, and several of their greatest warriors [1].

One of the earliest literary productions of the English colonists in America, of which we have any notice, is a translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, made this year by George Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia company [2].

The Dutch at New Netherlands, in defence of their colony, built several forts; one, on the east side of Delaware Bay, which they named Fort Nassau; and another a hundred and fifty miles up Hudson's river, which they named Fort Orange. At the mouth of the Hudson, they built a town, which they called New Amsterdam 3.

Ralph Merifield, having, in connection with captain Warner, obtained letters from king James to plant and possess the island of St. Christopher, arrived there in January with fifteen Englishmen, and commenced a plantation at the end of the island, where he built a fort and a house 4. The French planted themselves at the same time on the other end of the

1 Stith, 303.

2 Stith, 304. This historian calls it "a very laudable performance for the times." Sandys, in his dedication of it to king Charles, informs him, that "it was limned by that imperfect light, which was snatched from the hours of night and repose; and that it is doubly a stranger, being sprung from an ancient Roman stock, and bred up in the New World, of the rudeness of which it could not put participate; especially as it was produced among wars and tumults, instead of under the kindly and peaceful influences of the Muses." Ibid. About this time Dr. William Vaughan, educated at Oxford, wrote at Newfoundland his Poem, entitled The Golden Fleece, which was printed in quarto in 1626. Vaughan was the author of several publications in verse and prose. In 1615 he purchased a grant of the patentees of Newfoundland for part of the island, and resided there several years. Brit. Emp. A. i. 7—9. Ancient Right English Nation to American Fishery, 20.

3 Smith, New York, 2. Brit. Emp. A. i. 237. Smith, New Jersey, 20. Governor Bradford says, that the Dutch had traded in those southern parts several years before he and the other English adventurers came to Plymouth, but that they began no plantation there until after this time. See Prince, 165; and p. 150 of this volume.

4 Churchill, Voy. ii. chap. xxv. These English adventurers planted various seeds, and raised a crop of tobacco; but a hurricane "drove away" this crop in September. Until that time they lived on cassada bread, potatoes, plantanes, pine apples, turtles, guanas, and fish. Ibid. Univ. Hist. xli. 267. Many historians place this settlement in 1625.

island;

island [1]; and this was their first settlement in the West Indies [2].

1624.

The fame of the plantation at Plymouth being spread in the west of England, Mr. White, a celebrated minister of Dorsetshire, excited some merchants and other gentlemen to attempt another settlement in New England. They accordingly, on a common stock, sent over several persons, who began a plantation at Cape Ann, and held this place of Plymouth settlers, for whom they set up here a fishing stage [3].

The Plymouth colonists, who had hitherto appointed but one assistant to the governor, on the motion of governor Bradford, added four others; but, instead of acceding to a motion, which he made at the same time, for the change of their governor, they re-elected him; and gave this officer a double voice [4]. On making request to the governor, that they might have some land for permanent use, instead of the accustomed assignment by annual lot, he gave every person an acre for himself and his family, as near, as it was convenient, to the town [5]. Plymouth at this time contained thirty-two dwelling houses, and about one hundred and eighty persons. The inhabitants had erected a salt work; and this year they freighted a ship of a hundred and eighty tons. In the last three years, notwithstanding the great want of necessaries, not one of the first planters died [6]. Edward Winslow, having been sent to England, the last year, as an agent for the colony, on his return home, brought the first breed of neat cattle to Plymouth [7].

The few inhabitants of Wessagusset receiving an accession

1 Churchill, Voy. ii. chap. xxv.

2 Europ. Settlements, ii. 6. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the English and the French took possession of this island the same day. Ibid. The Spaniards soon drove both these colonies out of the island. The English returned, and possessed themselves of the largest and most fertile quarter; the French returned, and left a small colony in another part. But the most adventurous of the French went in quest of new places, and, after various fortune, made settlements in Martinico and Guadaloupe. Ibid.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xviii. Prince, 144, 151.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xvi. Prince, 145. Chalmers, i. 87.

5 Prince, 147.

6 Prince, 151.

7 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xvi. Prince, 146.

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to their number from Weymouth in England, the town is supposed to have hence been called Weymouth [1].

About fifty English ships came in the spring of this year, to fish on the coasts of New England [2].

The calamities, which had befallen the Virginian colony, and the dissensions, which had agitated the company, having been represented to the king and his privy council as subjects of complaint; a commission was issued under the great seal to Sir William Jones and six others, or any four of them, to inquire into all matters respecting Virginia, from the beginning of its settlement. The king also appointed commissioners, to go to Virginia, and inquire into the state of the colony. After their departure a writ of *quo warranto* was issued by the court of king's bench against the company [3]. Early this year the commissioners arrived in Virginia, and a general assembly was called, not at their request; for they kept all their designs as secret as possible. The colony however had received information of the whole proceedings in England, and had already in its possession copies of several papers, which had been exhibited against it. The assembly, meeting on the fourteenth of February, drew up answers to the charges, in a spirited and masterly style; appointed an agent to go to England, to solicit its cause. The laws, enacted by this assembly, are the oldest to be found in the colony records. One of them is equivalent to a bill of rights; for it defines the power of the governor, the council, and the assembly; and declares the privileges of the people, in regard to taxes, burdens, and personal services [4].

The *quo warranto* being brought to trial in the court of king's bench, judgment was given against the Virginia company; and the charter was vacated. The company, which was now dissolved, had consisted of gentlemen of noble, and disinterested views, who expended more than one hundred thousand pounds of their own fortunes in this first attempt to plant an English colony in America; and more than nine thousand persons were sent out from the mother country, to people this new settlement [5]. The annual exportation of commodities from Virginia to England did not exceed twenty

1 Prince, 150, 151.
2 Ibid. 144.
3 November 10, 1623.
4 Stith, 318—320.
5 Stith, 305, 319—322, 330. Univ. Hist. xli. 530. Belknap, Biog. ii. 91, 93, 97. Chalmers [i. 69,] says, the transportation of the Virginian settlers was "at the enormous expence of 150,000*l*.

thou-

thousand pounds in value; and, at this dissolution of the company, scarcely two thousand persons survived [1]. So fluctuating was their system of government, that in the course of eighteen years, ten different perons presided as governors over the province [2].

The colonial historians have deeply deplored the dissolution of the Virginian charter, as if the fate of the colony had depended on it. "Nevertheless," says Chalmers, "the length of its infancy, the miseries of its youth, disasters of its riper years, may all be attributed to the monstrous government under which it suffered [3]."

King James now issued a new commission for the government of Virginia, continuing Sir Francis Wyat governor, with eleven assistants or counsellors. The governor and council were appointed during the king's pleasure. No assembly was mentioned, or allowed [4].

Though the commons of England were submissive to the dictates of the crown, yet they showed their regard to the interest of the Virginian complainants, as well as to the interest of the nation, by petitioning the king, that no tobacco should be imported, but of the growth of the colonies; and his majesty condescended to issue a new proclamation concerning tobacco, by which he restrained the culture of it to Virginia and the Somer Islands [5].

The

1 Smith [Virg. continued, chap. xxi.] says, "After 20 years spent in complement, and trying new conclusions, were remaining scarce 1500, some say rather 2000." Chalmers says, "but about 1800;" and takes in New England, to make up the number of 2000 colonists. "If to this number we add about 200, who had nestled on the coast of North Virginia, the amount of the English colonists, settled on the American continent at the accession of Charles I. will be 2000." The prices of provisions in Virginia, at this period, were enormous. They are thus stated in Purchas [v. 1806.]: a hogshead of meal, 10 *l.* sterling; a gallon of alligant, 16 shillings; a hen and chickens, 3 *l*; 1 pound of butter, 3 shillings; 1 pint of milk, 6 pence, ready money; a day's work (carpenter's), beside meat and lodging, 10 or 12 shillings. The colonists however, under all their disadvantages, appear to have possessed a public and generous spirit; for they about this time made a contribution "for the building of a house of entertainment for new commers at James Citie, amounting to the value of fifteene hundred pounds." Purchas, ibid. 1785.

2 Robertson, book ix. 101.

3 Political Annals, i. 63.

4 Rymer's Fœdera, xvii. 618. Belknap, Biog. ii. 97, 98.

5 Belknap, Biog. ii. 95. The proclamation is entire in Rymer's Fœdera, xvii. 621, and in Hazard, Coll. i. 193—198. The king, steady in his aversion to this noxious weed, loses no opportunity of testifying his royal disapprobation of its use. On this occasion, he proclaimed, that he considered

The returns from New Netherlands this year were four thousand beavers, and seven hundred otters, estimated at twenty-seven thousand one hundred and fifty guilders [1].

1625.

The demise of the crown having annulled all former appointments for Virginia, Charles the First, who now succeeded to the throne of England, reduced that colony under the immediate direction of the crown; appointing a governor and council, and ordering all patents and processes to issue in his own name. His proclamation "for settling the plantation of Virginia" is dated the thirteenth of May [2]. The commission to the new governor and council was accompanied with arbitrary instructions. "The commerce of the Virginians," says Chalmers, "was restrained at the same time that their persons were enslaved [3].

Captain Wollaston, and a few persons of some eminence, with thirty servants, came from England to Massachusetts Bay, and on the southern side of the bay, at the head of a creek, began a plantation, which they called Mount Wollas-

dered England and Wales "as utterly unfyt in respect of the clymate to cherish the same for any medicinall use, which is the only good to be approved in yt." Ibid. Another proclamation to the same purpose was issued 2 March, 1625. It is in Rymer's Fœdera, xvii. 668.

1 Hazard, Coll. i. 397.

2 This Proclamation is entire in Hazard, Coll. ii. 203—205, and in Chalmers, i. 126—128. It shews how high the king set the royal prerogative at the commencement of his reign, and prepares us to expect the miseries which ensued. "Our full resolution is, that there may be one uniforme course of government in and through our whole monarchie, that the government of the colony of Virginia shall ymmediately depend upon ourselfe, and not be commytted to anie company or corporation; to whom itt maie be proper to trust matters of trade and commerce, but cannot be fitt or safe to communicate the ordering of state affaires, be they of never soe mean consequence." This resolution of the king excited serious alarm among the Puritans at Leyden, one of whom wrote to governor Bradford of Plymouth, that some hence conceive "he will have both the same civil and ecclesiastical government that is in England, which occasioneth their fear." Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 43. King James had set the example, thus early and thoroughly followed by his son. He had aimed to make the superiority of the colonies to be only of the king, and not of the crown of England; with a view, it is supposed, to make them a source of revenue to himself and his successors, that they might not depend on parliament; "but the commons did not give up the matter, as appears by their Journals of 1624 and 1625." Stokes, Constitut. of Brit. Colonies, p. 4.

3 Political Annals, i. 111—113; where is a summary of the royal instructions. For governor Yardley's commission, see Hazard, Coll. i. 230—234.

ton [1]. Among these settlers was Thomas Morton, who was afterward the cause of much trouble to the sober inhabitants of the country [2].

Rogers Conant, a man of piety and discretion, having lately removed from Plymouth to Nantasket, was chosen by the Dorchester adventurers in England, to manage their affairs at Cape Ann. On this appointment he removed to that place, accompanied by Mr. Lyford, a preacher, who had been invited at the same time by those adventurers to be minister to the plantation. In the autumn Lyford's people at Nantasket removed to Cape Ann [3]. Conant, finding a better place for a plantation a little to the westward, called Naumkeak, and conceiving that it might be a convenient place for the reception of such English people, as might be desirous of a settlement in America, gave notice of it to his friends in England. This information gave rise to a project for procuring of the council of Plymouth a grant for settling a colony in Massachusetts Bay [4].

The merchant adventurers at London having sent two ships on a trading voyage to New England, one of them, was sent back by Plymouth colony, laden with codfish, with beaver and other furs, to make payment for goods already received; but, after it had shot far into the English channel, was surprized by a Turkish man of war, and carried into Scilly, where the master and his men were made slaves [5].

Miles Standish went to England, as agent, to conclude some matters of difference, yet depending between the colony of Plymouth and the merchant adventurers at London, and to transact some business with the council of New England; but the troubles in the kingdom, and the plague in London, prevented him from completely effecting the objects of his commission [6].

Sir

1 Morton, 75. Prince, 152. Belknap, Biog. ii. 338. It fell into the township of Braintree. Dr. Belknap (ibid.) says, "they called an adjoining hill," not the settlement itself, "Mount Wollaston." Since the division of Braintree into two towns, this hill is in Quincy, not far distant from the seat of the Honourable JOHN ADAMS, Esquire, late President of the United States.

2 Morton's Memorial, 76. Prince, 152.

3 The reason, assigned for their removal to this place, is, that it was more convenient for the fishery. They had resided at Nantasket "a year and some few months." Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xviii. Prince, 157.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xviii. Smith, Virg. 247. Brit. Emp. i. 264. Douglas, i. 407.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xvi. Morton, 68, 69. Prince, 155, 166.

6 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xvi. Yet they "were happily accomplished

Sir William Alexander obtained from Charles I. a confirmation of his title to Nova Scotia, under the great seal of Scotland [1].

1626.

A bill for the maintenance and increase of shipping and navigation, and for the freer liberty of fishing voyages on the coasts of Newfoundland, Virginia, and New England, was passed in February, by the English house of commons; but it was never returned from the house of lords [2]. The spirit of the commons was not repressed by the loss of this bill. In a strong representation of grievances, which they presented to king Charles in the following May, they insisted, "that the restraint of the subject from liberty of a free fishing, with all the necessary incidents, was a great national grievance." The spirit displayed by this animated assembly, as well as its refusal to grant the sovereign a second subsidy, brought on its dissolution [3].

The coast of Newfoundland, for most of the late years, was frequented by two hundred and fifty sail of English vessels, estimated at fifteen thousand tons, employing five thousand persons and making an annual profit of about one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling [4].

plished by him so far, as he left things in a hopeful way of composition with the one, [the London merchants,] and a promise of all helpfulness and favour from the other," [the council of New England.] Ibid. and Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 38; Morton, 69; Prince, 156; Belknap, Biog. ii. 332.

1 Chalmers, 1. 92. This confirmatory charter is in Hazard, Coll. i. 206—224; and is nearly in the same words, as the original charter, given by king James. See p. 179 of this volume.

2 This must have been the *revival* of the bill, brought forward by the house of commons in 1621, if an anonymous Essay among Colonial Tracts in Harvard Library may be relied on. The author of that Essay observes, that on the occasion of the original measure the secretary of state made the following declaration to the house from the king [James:] "America is not annexed to the realm, nor within the jurisdiction of parliament; you have therefore no right to interfere."

3 Chalmers, i. 114. Now commenced the quarrels between Charles I. and the Parliament of England; the latter perceiving, that the king was desirous of extending the royal prerogative, and of rendering himself independent. Henault's Hist. France, ii. 50. "No one was, at that time, sufficiently sensible of the great weight, which the commons bore in the balance of the constitution. The history of England had never hitherto afforded an instance, where any great movement or revolution had proceeded from the lower house." Hume, Hist. Eng. Charles I. chap. i.

4 Smith, Virg. 241.

Wollaston, after much time, labour, and cost had been expended in planting Mount Wollaston, transported a great part of the servants to Virginia. In his absence, Morton advised the remainder of the company to depose Filcher, who had been left behind as lieutenant, and to keep possession for themselves. The counsel was followed; and dissipation ensued. Having traded with the Indians awhile, with what goods they had in possession, they spent the avails of their traffick merrily about a May pole, and called the place Merry Mount [1].

1627.

The Plymouth colony had, the preceding year, sent Isaac Allerton to England, to make a composition with the adventurers; to take up more money; and to purchase more goods. Allerton returned in the spring of this year, after a successful execution of his commission. He had procured a loan of two hundred pounds, at thirty per cent. interest [2], and laid it out in suitable goods, which he now brought over to the plantation. He had agreed with the adventurers, in behalf of the colony, to purchase all their shares, stocks, merchandizes, lands, and chattels, for eighteen hundred pounds; two

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xviii. Morton, 76, 77. Prince [162—167.] places the last transaction in 1627. Morton himself confirms the principal statements of the New England historians on this subject, but complains of abuse in this name of the hill; affirming, that he called it *Mare-Mount*. See p. 93 of a work, entitled "New English Canaan, or New Canaan, by Thomas Morton of Clifford's Inn, Gent." Printed at Amsterdam, 1637. This is the same Morton, mentioned above, who, secretary Morton [Memorial, p. 76.] says, had been "a petty fogger at Furnival's Inn."

2 Hard as these terms were, they were less hard than those, on which they had their goods the preceding year, those having been at 45 per cent. Gov. Bradford's Letter Book, in Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 46. The pious governor, after mentioning these "straits," might well add: "so that it was God's marvellous providence, that we were ever able to wade through things." Ibid. Enormous as was this rate of interest, it was increased the next year. Mr Shirley writes from London to governor Bradford (1628:) "It is true, as you write, your engagements are great, not only the purchase, but you are yet necessitated to take up the stock you work upon, and that not at 6 or 8 per cent. as it is here let out, but at 30, 40, yea and some 50 per cent. which, were not your gains great, and God's blessing on your honest endeavours more than ordinary, it could not be that you should long subsist, in the maintaining of, and upholding of, your worldly affairs." Ibid. p. 58.

hundred

hundred to be paid at the Royal Exchange every Michaelmas for nine years; the first payment to be made in 1628 1.

The colonists, obliged as they were to take up monies, or goods, at exorbitant interest, were at a loss, how they should raise the payment, in addition to the discharge of their other engagements, and the supply of their yearly wants; but they undertook to effect it; and seven or eight of the principal men became jointly bound, in behalf of the rest. A partnership was now formed, into which were admitted every head of a family, and every young man, of age and prudence. It was agreed, that the trade should be managed, as before, to pay the debts; every single freeman should have a single share; and every father of a family, leave to purchase one share for himself, one for his wife, and one for every child, living with him; and that every one should pay his part toward the debts, according to the number of his shares. To every share twenty acres of arable land were assigned by lot; to every six shares one cow and two goats; and swine in the same proportion 2.

Messengers now arrived at Plymouth, from the governor of the Dutch plantation at Hudson's river, with amicable letters, written in Dutch and French 3. In these letters, the Dutch congratulated the English on their prosperous and commendable enterprize; tendered them their good will, and friendly services; and offered to open and maintain with them a commercial intercourse. The governor and council of Plymouth sent an obliging answer to the Dutch, expressing a thankful sense of the kindness, which they had received in their native country; and a grateful acceptance of the offered friendship 4.

1 The heads of this agreement are in governor Bradford's Letter Book, in Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 47, 48. It was subscribed by Allerton and 42 adventurers 15 November, 1626.

2 Morton, 71, 72. Prince, 165—167. The previous allotments of a garden plot, and of a single acre to each individual were not affected by this new division. The manner, in which the first lots were located, is distinctly shewn, in an extract from Plymouth Colony Records, in Hazard, Coll. i. 100—103, entitled "The MEERSTEADS and GARDEN PLOTES of those, which came first, laid out." The agreement, for the division of 20 acres to a share, was made "in a full court" 3 January, 1627, according to the reckoning then in use [Hazard, Coll. i. 180.], but it was truly 3 January, 1628. The year was *then* computed from the 25th of March.

3 Morton, 74. The letters were dated at the Manhattas, in the Fort Amsterdam, March 9, 1627, and signed by Isaac de Razier, secretary. Governor Bradford says, that Razier was their upper *commis*, or chief merchant, and second to the governor; and a man of a fair and genteel behaviour. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 54.

4 Prince, 165. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 51, 52; where this letter is entire.

For greater convenience of trade, the Plymouth colonists this summer built a small pinnace at Monamet [1], to which place they transported their goods. Having taken them by water within four or five miles, they carried them over land to the vessel, and thus avoided the dangerous navigation around Cape Cod, and made their voyage to the southward in far less time, and with much less hazard. For the safety of their vessel and goods, they also built a house, and kept some servants there, who planted corn, raised hogs, and were always ready to go out with the bark [2].

The Puritans, left at Leyden, deprived of their revered and beloved pastor [3], were desirous to come to New England, and join their brethren at Plymouth. In correspondence with their wishes, the people of Plymouth were solicitous to aid their removal from Holland; but were unable, without extraordinary effects. On this occasion, the governor and seven other persons [4] made a hazardous adventure. They hired the trade of the colony for six years; and for this privilege, together with the shallop, and the pinnace, lately built at Monamet, and the stock in the store house, undertook to pay, the eighteen hundred pounds, and all other debts of the planters; to bring over for them fifty pounds a year in hoes and shoes, and sell them for corn at six shillings a bushel; and, at the end of the term, to return to the colony [5].

On the return of the ships, Allerton was again sent to England, to conclude the bargain with the company, and deliver

1 A place on the sea, 20 miles to the south of Plymouth, now called Sandwich. See p. 185, note 4.

2 Prince, 167, 168.

3 The Reverend John Robinson died 1 March, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. Until his death, the congregation at Plymouth had not abandoned the hope of his coming to America, with their brethren, who remained in Holland. The difficulties, which then attended a voyage across the Atlantic; the expence of an equipment for a new colony; the hardships, incident to a plantation in a distant wilderness; the debts already contracted by the Plymouth colonists; and the poverty of the congregation at Leyden, prevented his removal. Belknap, Biog. ii. 175. Hutchinson [ii. 454.] says, that "he was prevented by *disappointments* from those in England, who undertook to provide for the passage of him and his congregation." See Belknap, ut supra; and Morton, 70. The death of Robinson caused the dissolution of his congregation at Leyden; some of whom removed to Amsterdam; and others, among whom were his widow and children to New England. Belknap, Biog. ii. 168. See Note V. at the end of the volume.

4 Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, Miles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, John Howland, and Isaac Allerton.

5 Prince, 168, 169.

the

the bonds for the stipulated payment; to carry beaver, and pay some of the recent debts [1]; to procure a patent for a convenient trading place on Kennebeck river [2]; and to make interest with the friend of the colony in London, to join with the eight undertakers for the discharge of the debts of the colony, and for keeping their friends from Leyden. He closed the bargain with the company of adventurers at London, on the sixth of November [3].

The colony of Quebec, by direction of cardinal Richlieu, sole minister of France, was taken out of the hands of the French Protestants, and, together with its trade, put into the hands of one hundred persons, called the Company of one hundred Associates, at the head of which was the cardinal himself, with the mareschal Defiat, and other persons of eminence [4].

William Usselin, an eminent Swedish merchant, having greatly extolled the country in the neighbourhood of New Netherlands, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, had issued a proclamation, exhorting his subjects to contribute to a company, associated for the settlement of a colony in that territory. Considerable sums were raised by contribution; and a number of Swedes and Fins came over this year to America. They first landed at Cape Hinlopen, the sight of which gave them such pleasure, that they called it Paradise Point. Some time after they bought of the natives the land from that cape to the Falls of Delaware, and obtained peaceable possession [5].

1 "For," says governor Bradford, "our excessive interest still keeps us low." Prince, 169.

2 A special reason, assigned for this article, is, that "the planters at Pascatoway and other places eastward of them, as also the fishing ships, envy our trading there, and threaten to get a patent to exclude us; though we first discovered and began the same, and brought it to so good an issue." Prince, ibid. from governor Bradford.

3 Prince, ibid. "The thing was fully concluded, and the bargain fairly engrossed in parchment, under their hands and seals." Gov. Bradford, Letter Book, Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 48.

4 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 422. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 161—165; where is an account of this project for the settlement of Canada. Chalevoix (ibid.) thinks nothing could have been better imagined; and that France would have been the most powerful colony in America, had the execution been answerable to the design. The full number of the Associates was 107.

5 Smith, N. Jersey, 22. Smith says, it is uncertain whether they bought the land of those natives, who could properly convey it. The river Delaware they called New Swedeland stream. Ibid. See A. D. 1629.

1628.

This year was laid the foundation of the colony of Massachusetts. The council for New England on the nineteenth of March sold to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, and four other associates in the vicinity of Dorchester in England, a patent for all that part of New England, lying between three miles to the northward of Merrimack river and three miles to the southward of Charles river, and in length within the described breadth from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea. The reverend Mr. White of Dorchester being engaged at that juncture in projecting an asylum for silenced Nonconformist ministers, the grantees, by his means, became acquainted with several religious persons [1] in London and its vicinity, who at first associated with them, and afterward bought rights in their patent [2]. They next projected a settlement for the express purpose of providing for Nonconformists a safe retreat, where they might enjoy religious liberty in matters of worship and discipline. The company chose Matthew Cradock governor, and Thomas Goffe, deputy governor, with eighteen assistants [3]; and sent over a few people under the government of John Endicot, to carry on the plantation at Naumkeak, and prepare for settling a colony [4]. Endicot, on his arrival at Naumkeak, laid the foundation of Salem, the first permanent town in Massachusetts. Several servants were soon sent over from England, on the joint stock of the company; but upon their arrival at Naumkeak, an uncultivated desert, many of

1 John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goff, and Sir Richard Saltonstall. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xviii. They are said to be persons "of like quality," as the first purchasers of the patent. Ibid.

2 Hubbard (ibid.) says, they bought of them all their right and interest in New England; but Prince [171.] from the Massachusets colony charter and records concluded, that three only of the six original grantees wholly sold their rights; and that the other three retained theirs in equal partnership with the new associates.

3 Beside those gentlemen, there were 20 or 30, who subscribed 1035 *l.* to be a common stock to carry on the plantation. The next year 745 *l.* more were lent on the same account by several gentlemen. They generally ventured but 25 *l.* a piece; some, 50 *l.*; a few, 75 *l.*; and the governor, 100 *l.* Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxii.

4 Johnson says, that Endicot, who came with them "to govern," was "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work; of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable, and of a cheerful spirit, loving, or austere, as occasion served." Wonderwork. Providence, 19.

them,

them, for want of wholesome diet and convenient lodgings, died of the scurvy and other distempers [1].

Six or seven persons, with the consent of governor Endicot, travelled from Naumkeak through the woods about twelve miles westward, and came to a neck of land, between Mystic and Charles rivers, called Mishawum. It was full of Indians, called Aberginians; and, with the unconstrained consent of their chief, they settled there [2].

The Plymouth colonists obtained a patent for Kennebeck; and up this river, in a place convenient for trade, erected a house, and furnished it with corn, and other commodities. While the trade of their infant colony was thus commencing toward the east, it was becoming gradually extended toward the west. A Dutch bark from Manhattan arriving at the trading house at Manomet, with sugar, linen, stuffs, and various other commodities; a boat was sent from Plymouth for Razier, who conducted this commercial enterprize; and he, with most of his company, was entertained at Plymouth several days. On his return to the bark, some of the people of Plymouth accompanied him, and bought various goods. After this commencement of trade, the Dutch often sent goods to the same place; and a traffick was continued several years. The Plymouth colonists sold much tobacco for linens, stuffs, and other articles; and derived great advantage from this commerce, until the Virginians found out the Dutch colony [3].

John Endicot, arriving at Naumkeak, as an agent, to carry on the plantation there, and manage all the affairs of the Massachusetts patentees, visited the people at Merry Mount; caused their May pole to be cut down; rebuked them for their profaneness; and admonished them to reform. Morton, their

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xviii. Prince, 171—178. Mather, Magnal. i. 16. Chalmers, i. 136. The Reverend Mr. Bentley [Hist. Salem, Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 230.] says, "The natives had forsaken this spot [Naumkeak] before the English had reached it. On the soil they found no natives, of whom we have any record. No natives ever claimed it, and the possession was uninterrupted."

2 Prince, 174, 175. This chief was called by the English John Sagamore. He was the oldest son of the old Aberginian chief, who was then dead. The few Englishmen, who now settled at Mishawum, found but one English house there, "thatched and palisadoed, possessed by Thomas Walford, a smith." Ibid.

3 Prince, 171—173. The Dutch, on the visit recited above, acquainting the people of Plymouth with the trade of wampum, they were induced to purchase that article of the Indians, to the value of about 50 *l.* For the two first years it was unsaleable; but it became afterward a very important article of trade, especially with the inland Indians, who did not make it.

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principal, was incorrigible. Hearing what gain the French and the fishermen made by selling guns, powder, and shot to the natives, he began the same trade in his neighbourhood, and taught the natives the use of fire arms. The English, meeting them in the woods, armed in this manner, were greatly intimidated. The chief persons, in the scattered plantations at Pascataqua, Naumkeak, Winisimet, Wessagusset, Nantasket, and other places, met, and agreed to solicit the people of Plymouth, who were stronger than all the other New England colonists combined, to unite with them in the supression of the alarming evil. The Plymouth colonists, after repeatedly sending friendly messages to Morton, advising him to forbear his injurious courses, and receiving insolent replies, prevailed with the governor of their colony to send Standish, with some aid, to apprehend him. This gallant officer succesfully performed the enterprize. Dispersing the worst of the company, he brought Morton to Plymouth, whence he was soon after sent to England [1].

Sir Thomas Warner, and a number of Englishmen, attempted the settlement of Berbuda; but, finding it a rocky and barren island, they left it, and settled at Nevis, to the number of about one hundred, many of whom were old planters of St. Christopher's [2]. At the island of St. Christopher there were, this year, about thirty sail of English, French, and Dutch ships. The natives, having done much mischief among the French, were entirely expelled from the island [3].

1629.

On the petition of the Massachusetts company, seconded by the solicitation of lord Dorchester, king Charles, by charter, confirmed the patent of Massachusetts colony. By this patent, the company was incorporated by the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," to have perpetual succession; empowered to elect for ever, out of the freemen of said company, a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, to be newly chosen on the last Wednesday in Easter term yearly, by the greater part of the company; and to make laws, not repugnant to the laws of England. Matthew Cradock was constituted the first governor; and Thomas Goffe, the first deputy governor. Sir

1 Hubbard MS. N. Eng. chap. xviii. Prince, 175—177. Josselyn, 251.
2 Anderson, ii. 338. Smith, Virg. contin. chap. xxvii. Univ. Hist. xli. 288.
3 Smith, Virg. continued, chap. xxv.

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Richard Saltonstall and seventeen other persons were constituted assistants [1].

A court of the Massachusetts company was soon after holden at London, and settled a form of government for the new colony. It ordained, that thirteen persons, such as should be reputed the most wise, honest, expert, and discreet, resident on the colonial plantation, should, from time to time, have the sole management of the government and affairs of the colony; and they, to the best of their judgement, were to "endeavour to so settle the same," as might "make most to the glory of God, the furtherance and advancement of this hopeful plantation, the comfort, encouragement, and future benefit" of the company, and of others, concerned in the commencement or the prosecution of the work. The persons, thus appointed, were to be entitled "The Governor and Council of London's Plantation in Massachusetts Bay, in New England [2]."

The same court elected John Endicot to be governor of the colony; and Francis Higginson with six others to be the council. These seven counsellors were empowered to choose three others: and such of the former planters, as were willing to live within the limits of the plantation, were empowered to choose two more, to make the council to consist of twelve; one of whom was by the governor and council, or the major part of them, to be chosen deputy to the governor for the time being. These persons were to continue in office for a year, or until the court of the company in London should appoint others; and the governor, or, in his absence, the deputy governor, might call courts at discretion.

At a court of the company, holden at London in May, it was agreed, that every adventurer, who had advanced fifty pounds, should have two hundred acres of land allowed him; and that fifty acres a-piece should be allowed them who went over at their own charge. Several persons, of considerable importance in the English nation, were now enlisted among the adventurers, who, for the unmolested enjoyment of their religion, were resolved to remove into Massachusetts. Foreseeing, however, and dreading, the inconvenience of being governed by laws, made for them without their own consent, they judged it more rational, that the colony should be ruled

1 Mather, Magnal. book i. 16. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 277. Chalmers, i. 136. Prince, 180. This first Charter of Massachusetts was first printed in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, 1—23; it is also in Hazard, Coll. i. 239—255. Some of these authors place it in 1628; but, if the year be computed from January, it was in 1629.

2 This act for settling the government is in Hazard, Coll. i. 268—271.

by

by men, residing in the plantation, rather than by those, dwelling at the distance of three thousand miles, and over whom they should have no controul. At the same time therefore, that they proposed to transport themselves, their families, and estates to this country, they insisted, that the charter should be transmitted with them, and that the corporate powers, conferred by it, should be executed in future in New England. An agreement was accordingly made at Cambridge in England between Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson, John Winthrop, and a few others, that on those conditions they would be ready the ensuing March, with their persons and families, to embark for New England, for the purpose of settling in the country [1]. The governor and company, entirely disposed to promote the measure, called a general court; at which the deputy governor stated, that several gentlemen, intending to go to New England, were desirous to know, whether the chief government with the patent would be settled in Old or New England. This question caused a serious debate. The court was adjourned to the next day, when it decreed, that the government and the patent of the plantation should be transferred from London to Massachusetts Bay. An order was drawn up for that purpose; in pursuance of which a court was holden for a new election of officers, who would be willing to remove with their families; and John Winthrop was chosen governor; John Humfrey, deputy governor; and Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, and others, were chosen assistants [2].

The infant colony at Naumkeak had, in the mean time, been making progress. In the lord treasurer's warrant for the colonists to go to New England, dated the sixteenth of April, liberty was given to sixty women and maids, twenty-six children, three hundred men with victuals, arms, apparel, tools, one hundred and forty head of cattle, some horses, sheep and goats; which were transported in six ships in the summer of this year. Three of the ships sailed from the isle

1 "We will so really endeavour the execution of this worke, as by God's assistance we will be ready in our persons, and with such of our severall familyes as are to go with us—to embarke for the said plantation by the first of March next—to passe the seas (under God's protection) to inhabite and continue in New England. Provided always, that before the last of September next the whole government, together with the patent for the said plantation, be first legally tranferred," &c. Hutchinson, Coll. 25, 26, where is "The true coppie of the agreement at Cambridge, August 26, 1629."

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxii. Prince, 192—195. Chalmers, 150, 151.

of

of Wight in May, carrying about two hundred persons, with abundance of all things, necessary to form a settlement; and in June arrived at Naumkeak. This aboriginal name was exchanged by these settlers for one, expressive of the peaceful asylum which they found in the American wilderness. They called the place Salem. It contained, at the time of their arrival, but six houses, beside that of governor Endicot; and there were in the whole colony but one hundred planters [1].

Dissatisfied with the situation at Salem, Thomas Graves, with some of the company's servants under his care, and others, to the number of one hundred in all, removed to Mishawum, where they laid the foundation of a town, to which, with the consent of the governor Endicot, they gave the name of Charlestown. Mr. Graves laid out the town in two acre lots, one of which he assigned to each inhabitant; and afterward he built a great house for the accommodation of those who were soon to come over to New England [2].

Two hundred settled at Salem, and, by general consent of the old planters, were combined with them into one body po-

1 Chalmers, i. 142, 143; who says, there where then at Salem eight miserable hovels. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 278. Prince, 189—188. In Hazard's Coll. [i. 277—285.] there is a letter from the company to "Captain Jo. Endycott, and the Councell in New England," dated London 28 May, and Gravesend 3 June, 1629, giving notice of the establishment of Endicot as "present governor," and subjoining instructions for the management of the colony. The governor and council were desired to "appoint a carefull and dilligent Overseer to each familie," to see that the servants, sent over for the company, were employed in their proper business. Blank books were sent, to be distributed among the overseers, who were "to keep a perfect Register of the dayly worke done by each person in each familie," a copy of which was to be sent once every half year to England. The instructions say, "for the better governing and ordering of our people, especiallie such as shall be negligent and remiss in the performance of their dutyes, or otherwise exorbitant, our desire is, that a house of correccon be erected and set upp, both for the punishment of such offenders, and to deterr others by their example from such irregular courses." Caution was given against the culture of that vile weed, which was considered as the source of great evil to society: "And as in our former, soe now againe wee espetially desire you to take care that noe tobacco bee planted by any of the new Planters under your government; unless it bee some small quantitie for meere necessitie, and for phisick for preservation of their healths, and that the same bee taken privately by auntient men and none other." An injunction was given, "to bee very circumspect in the infancie of the plantacon, to settle some good orders," to promote industry, "that noe idle drone be permitted to live amongst us; which if you take care now at the first to establish, wil be an undoubted meanes, through God's assistance, to prevent a world disorders, and many grevious sinns and sinners."

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 123, 124. Chalmers, i. 143. Prince, 188.

litic,

litic, under the same governor [1]. It being early resolved to settle in a church state, thirty persons, who commenced the church, judged it needful to enter solemnly into covenant, to walk together according to the Word of God. Inviting the church of Plymouth to the solemnity, that they might have its approbation and concurrence, if not direction and assistance, they solemnly declared their assent to a confession of faith, drawn up by one of their ministers, and entered into a religious covenant [2]. They then ordained their ministers [3], and a ruling elder, by the imposition of the hands of some of the brethren, appointed by the church; and governor Bradford and others, messengers from the church of Plymouth, gave them the right hand of fellowship. "They aimed," says Hubbard, "to settle a Reformed Church, according to their apprehension of the gospel, and the pattern of the best Reformed Churches [4]".

A commission having been given by Charles I. to David Kertk [5] and his valiant kinsmen, to conquer the American dominions of France, Kertk had attacked Canada in July 1628, and still carried on his military operations with vigour. Louis and Thomas Kertk, appearing again at this time off Point Levi, sent an officer on shore to Quebec, to summon the city to surrender. Champlain, who had the chief command, knowing his means to be inadequate to a defence, surrendered the city by capitulation [6]. The terms of this capitulation

1 Higgeson's N. Eng. Plantation in Coll. Hist. Soc i. 123.

2 A copy of this Covenant is in Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 283, 284; and in Mather, Magnal. book i. 18, 19.

3 One of them was Mr. Francis Higginson, a minister of Leicestershire, who had been silenced for his Nonconformity; the other was Mr. Skelton, a minister of Lincolnshire, who had also suffered for the same cause. Both were eminent for learning and virtue, and came to New England by invitation of those, who were engaged in prosecuting the settlement at Salem. Mather, Magnal. book i. 16. They had been ordained by bishops in the church of England; this ordination was only to the pastoral care of *that particular flock*, founded on their free election. Prince, 191.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxi. Mather, Magnal. 17, 19. Chalmers, 143. Josselyn, Voy. 251. Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 219.

5 The English writers commonly write the name *Kirk*. I follow Champlain and Charlevoix, one of whom gives the name, as *signed* at the capitulation; the other informs us that it is a *French* name, Kertk having been a native of France, and a Protestant refugee in England: "David Kertk, François, natif de Dieppe, mais Calviniste et refugié en Angleterre." Nouv. France, i. 165.

6 Champlain, Voy. sec. part. 157—160; 214—220; were are the Letters of correspondence between the Kertks and Champlain, and the Articles of capitulation. The spirited answer of Champlain at the *first* sum-

lation were very favourable to the French colony; and they were so punctually and honourably fulfilled by the English, that the greater part of the French chose to remain with their captors, instead of going, as had been stipulated, to France [1]. Thus was the capital of New France subdued by the arms of England, just one hundred and thirty years before its final conquest by the celebrated Wolf [2].

Although the subjects of different nations now traded with the natives in the bay of Delaware; no settlements appear to have yet been formed on either margin of it by the Dutch or Swedes [3]. The Hollanders, resolved to establish a colony at Manhattan, appointed Van Twiller governor, who arrived at Fort Amsterdam in June, and began to grant lands the subsequent year; at which time commenced the first permanent settlement of the Dutch [4].

The project for settleing Guiana was now revived. Four ships with nearly two hundred persons arrived there from England; and preparations were made for another embarkation. One hundred English and Irish people went from Holland to the same country, conducted by the old planters. Roger North, who was a principal person in effecting this settlement, seated his colony about a hundred leagues in the main land [5].

summons to surrender in 1628, and Kertk's ignorance of the real state of the French garrison, are the only apparent causes of the failure of the English in their first attempt on Quebec. Charlevoix, [Nouv. France, i. 166.] says, the French in Quebec were *then* reduced to seven ounces of bread each, a day; and that they had but five pounds of powder in their magazine. Some time before the surrender, their provisions were entirely exhausted: "trois mois après que les vivres eurent manqué absolument." Ibid.

1 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 423. Brit. Emp. *Introd.* i. 47.

2 Chalmers, i. 93.

3 Chalmers, i. 227. See p. 199 of this volume.

4 Smith, N. York. 8. Chalmers, i. 570; who supposes, that settlement "now probably acquired the name of *New Netherlands*, though this people, like the French and English, were never able to assign to them any specific boundaries." We have already, for convenience, used the name of *New Netherlands*, and styled the Dutch people there a *colony* [See p. 149—150, 189.]; but neither term appears to be strictly applicable, until this period.

5 Smith, in Churchill Voy. ii. chap. xxiv. A party of men, sent out for discovery, found many towns well inhabited; most of the people entirely naked; but they saw "not any such giant women as the river's name [Amazons] importeth." Ibid. Oldys does not expressly notice this settlement of 1629; but says, that "some other little attempts were made there" several years after 1620; and subjoins: "But how all this spacious and fruitful country has been since shamefully deserted, by the English especially; the quiet possession there by the Spaniards, to this day, is sufficient witness." Life Ralegh, 223.

In

In the Somer Isles there were, at this time, between two and three thousand inhabitants. Charles Saltonstall, son of Sir Samuel Saltonstall, sailed from England to Barbadoes, and with nearly two hundred people, accompanied by Sir William Tufton, governor for Barbadoes, and carrying what was necessary for a plantation. There were now on that island, and going to it, about fifteen or sixteen hundred people; and in all the Carribbee islands, inclusive of those actually preparing to settle in them, there were nearly three thousand [1]. About this time the English are said to have begun to plant on the island of Providence, the chief of the Bahama islands [2].

1630.

By the agency of the earl of Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Plymouth colony obtained from the council for New England its last patent. This patent, dated the thirteenth of January, conveyed a considerable territory around the original settlement. The limits of that part of the grant are thus defined: "All that part of New England lying between Cohasset rivulet toward the north, and Narraganset river toward the south; the great western ocean [the Atlantic] toward the east, and a strait line extending into the main land toward the west from the mouth of Narraganset river to the utmost bounds of a country in New England, called Pokenakut, alias Sowamset; and another like strait line, extending directly from the mouth of Cohasset river toward the west so far into the main land on the river Kennebeck, extending from the utmost limits of Pokenakut, alias Sowamset." It also conveyed a tract of land on the river Kennebeck, extending from the utmost limits of Cobbiseconte, which adjoins that river toward the western ocean, and a place called the Falls at Nequamkike, and fifteen miles each side of Kennebeck river, and all the river itself. By this charter the colonists were allowed to make orders, ordinances, and constitutions, for the ordering, disposing, and governing their persons, and distributing the lands within the limits of the patent [3]. The co-

1 Smith, ut supra, chap. xxii, xxv, xxvi.

2 Anderson, ii. 339; "till then quite uninhabited."

3 Plymouth Laws, *Preface*. Prince, 196—198. Hazard, Coll. i 293—303; where is an entire copy of this Patent. It has been erroneously supposed, that the Plymouth colonists, previous to the reception of this charter, had no right to their lands, but what arose from *occupancy*. The truth is, that, as soon as they knew of the establishment of the Council of New England, they dispatched an agent to England to apply for a patent Sir

colony of Plymouth then contained nearly three hundred souls [1].

A fleet of fourteen sail, with men, women, and children, and provisions, having been prepared early in the year to make a firm plantation in New England, twelve of the ships arrived, by the sixth of July, in Massachusetts Bay [2]. In this fleet came passengers governor Winthrop, deputy governor Dudley, with several other gentlemen of wealth and quality [3]. In the same fleet came about fifteen hundred passengers, of various occupations, some of whom were from the west of England; but the greatest part, from the vicinity of London. The expence of this epuipment and transportation was twenty-one thousand two hundred pounds. Warham, Maverick, Rossiter, and Ludlow, arriving earlier than many of the company, were put on shore at Nantasket. Proceeding in a boat to Charlestown, they found there several wigwams, a few English people, and one house with an old planter, who could speak the Indian language. Ascending Charles river, until it became narrow and shallow, they landed their goods at a

Sir F. Gorges interested himself in the affairs; and the application was successful. As early as 6 July, 1621, the merchant adventurers in England wrote to governor Carver of Plymouth, "We have procured you a Charter," &c. This was taken in the name of John Pierce, in trust for the colony. In 1623, Pierce, who had obtained another patent, of larger extent, in his own name, sold it to the company of adventurers. See p. 186 of this volume. In 1627, the Plymouth colonists bought of the adventurers in England all their shares, stocks, merchandizes, *lands*, and chattels. See pp. 196, 198, 199, of this volume. Prince, 114, 120, 136, 198. Belknap, Biog. i. 366; ii. 234. Chalmers [i. 87.] says: "As they had freely placed themselves within the boundaries of the Plymouth company's patent, they necessarily consented to obey its ordinances; *though that body seems never to have exercised any authority over them.*" On that passage Dr. Belknap has remarked, in the margin of Chalmers, with his pen: "*That body* granted them a Charter in 1622, and another in 1629, by virtue of which they had legal authority to govern themselves."

1 Chalmers, i. 97. Neal, N. Eng. i. 128. Callender, R. Island, 10.

2 Prince [199.] says, they were ready in February, but staid at Southampton and its vicinity until May, to take 260 kine, with other live cattle, &c. Chalmers [i. 151.] says, there were 17 vessels. It appears from Prince [p. 199, *note*, 79 and p. 241, 245.], that there were 17 employed from February to August. There is a list of them in Prince, ii. 10.

3 Among those, who were distinguished in civil life, beside Winthrop and Dudley, were Sir Richard Saltonstall, Ludlow, Rossiter, Newel, T. Sharp, Pynchon, S. Bradstreet, Johnson, Coddington; the eminent ministers were, John Wilson, George Phillips, John Maverick, and John Warham. Prince, 212.

well watered place[1]; whence, a few days after, they removed to Matapan; and here began to build a town[2].

On the arrival of the principal ships of the fleet at Charlestown, the governor and several of the patentees having viewed the bottom of the Bay of Massachusetts, and pitched down on the north side of Charles River, took lodgings in the great house built there the preceding year; and the rest of the company erected cottages, booths, and tents, about the town hill. Their place of assembling for divine service was under a tree. The whole fleet having safely arrived, a day of thanksgiving was kept in all the plantations[3].

The first court of assistants was holden at Charlestown on the twenty-third of August, on board the Arabella. The first question proposed was, How the ministers should be maintained. The court ordered, that houses be built, and salaries raised, for them, at the public charge[4]. It also ordered, that Morton of Mount Wollaston[5], be presently sent for; settled the price of the labour of mechanics; and chose Mr. Bradstreet secretary[6].

1 Afterward called Watertown. Prince, 208. They landed their goods with much labour, "the bank being steep." At night they had notice of 300 Indians "hard by;" but the old planter (who had accompanied the adventurers from Charlestown) going, and requesting them not to come near the English, they complied with his request. The whole number of the English did not exceed ten. The next morning some of the natives appeared at a distance; and one of them at length holding out a bass, a man was sent with a biscuit, which the Indian received in exchange for it. After this introduction, the natives were very friendly and furnished the English with fish; giving a bass for a biscuit." Ibid.

2 Prince, 207, 208. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 98. They had "order" to come to this place, "because there was a neck fit to keep their cattle on." Ibid.

3 Winthrop, Journ. 19. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxiv. Prince, 211.

4 Sir R. Saltonstall undertook to see this provision made at his plantation for Mr. Phillips: and the governor, at the other plantation for Mr. Wilson. Mr. Phillips was to have 30 *l.* a year; Mr. Wilson, until his wife should come over 20 *l.* Matapan and Salem were excepted, in the order of the court. Prince, 247.

5 Morton was sent to England, with a messenger and letters of information against him to New England council, in 1628 [See p. 202.]; but the council did not even rebuke him, and he returned to Massachusetts the next year. Prince, 177.

6 Winthrop, Journ. 20. Prince, 246, 247. The order, relating to the price of labour, was, that carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers, and thatchers, take no more than two shillings a day, on penalty of ten shillings to giver and taker. Ibid.

An

An early attention was paid to the great object of the enterprize. A day of solemn prayer and fasting was kept on the twenty-seventh of August, when the governor, deputy governor, and others, entered into church covenant; Mr. Wilson [1] was chosen pastor; a ruling elder and two deacons were also chosen; and thus was laid the foundation of the churches of Charlestown and Boston [2].

It was the general intention of the company to settle at Charlestown; where the governor ordered his house to be framed; but the prevalence of a mortal sickness, ascribed to the badness of the water [3], induced several of the people to explore the neighbouring country, for more eligible situations. Some of them travelled up into the main land, until they came to the place recently visited by Mr. Warham and others; and here Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Phillips, and some others, settled a plantation.

On the South side of the mouth of the river Charles, on a peninsula, called by the natives Shawmut, but by the English, Trimountain [4], there lived at that time, in a solitary cottage, Mr. Blackston [5], an Episcopal minister; who, going to Charlestown at this juncture, informed the governor of an excellent spring of water at Shawmut, and invited him over to his side of the river. Johnson and the principal gentlemen of the company, induced by this invitation, crossed the river; and, finding the place as eligible, as they had been led to ex-

1 The Rev. John Wilson had formerly been a minister of Sudbury in the county of Suffolk in England; and is characterised as a man of distinguished piety and zeal. Mather, Magnal. i. 22. "We used imposition of hands," says gov. Winthrop [Journal, 20.], "but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."

2 Winthrop, Journ. 20. Mather, Magnal. i. 22. Prince [248.] places this article 30 July; but he had not *then* seen governor Winthrop's Journal.

3 The neck of land, on which Charlestown is built, abounds with good water; but the settlers had only found a brackish spring, by the water side, to which they had no access, excepting when the tide was down. Prince, 244.

4 Mr. Prince, [249.] supposed the name Trimountain was given, on the account of three contiguous hills, in this peninsula, appearing from Charlestown in a range. Wood [N. E. Prosp.] writes the aboriginal name, *Mishaumut*.

5 He is said to have been the first Englishman, who slept on the peninsula. He dwelt in that part of West Boston, now called Barton's Point. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 241.

pect, they began a settlement there by the erection of small cottages [1].

At the second court of assistants, holden at Charlestown, it was ordered, that no person should plant in any place, within the limits of the patent, without leave from the governor and assistants, or the major part of them; that a warrant should presently be sent to Agawam, to command those who were planted there, to come immediately away; and that Trimountain be called Boston; Matapan, Dorchester; and the town on Charles river, Watertown.

The governor with most of the assistants, about this time, removed their families to Boston; having it in contemplation to look for a convenient place for the erection of a fortified town [2].

Mr. Pynchon with some others chose a place for settlement between Dorchester and Boston, and called it Roxbury [3].

The first general court of the Massachusetts colony was holden at Boston. At this court many of the first planters attended, and were made free of the colony [4]. This was the first general court, which the freemen attended in person. It was now enacted, that the freemen should in future have power to choose assistants, when they were to be chosen; and the assistants were empowered to choose out of their own number the governor and deputy governor, who, with the assistants, were empowered to make laws, and appoint officers for the execution of them. This measure was now fully assented to by the general vote of the people [5]; but when the general court convened early the next year, it rescinded this rule, and ordained, that the governor, deputy governor, and assistants, should be chosen by the freemen alone [6].

In consideration of the inconveniences, that had arisen in England from the custom of drinking healths, governor Winthrop restrained the practice at his own table, and dis-

1 Prince, 241—244. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 241, 242.

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxv. Wonderwork. Providence, 89. Prince, 249. Dudley says, it was the previous intention of the settlers to give that name to the place, which they should "first resolve on" [Lett. to countess of Lincoln, 14.]; and Hubbard, that it was in respect to Mr. Cotton, an eminent minister in a town of that name in Lincolnshire; who it is probable, was soon expected from England. See A. D. 1633.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxv. Dudley's Lett. to countess of Lincoln, 14. Fleet's Register (1792) puts its incorporation 28 Sept. 1630.

4 Wonderwork. Providence, p. 89; where it is said, the number of freemen this year was 110. See their principal names in Prince, ii. 4.

5 Prince, ii. 3. Chalmers, i. 153.

6 Chalmers, ibid.

coun-

countenanced it among the people; whence it became gradually abolished [1].

The infant colony sustained a great loss, in the death of Isaac Johnson; who was the first magistrate that died in Massachusetts. He was distinguished for piety, wisdom, and public spirit; was one of the five undertakers [2] of the plantation, and a principal founder of the town of Boston. He was buried in his own lot; and the first burying place in Boston was laid out around his grave [3].

John Billington, indicted for murder, was found guilty "both by grand and petty jury," and executed. This was the first execution in Plymouth colony [4].

Some of the scattered planters in the Bay of Massachusetts having purchased lands of the natives about Pascataqua; and John Mason having obtained from the council of Plymouth a new patent for a tract of land in the same region [5]; the west country adventurers were not less attentive to their interest. They now obtained from the council a patent for Edward Hilton, for all that part of the river Pascataqua, known by the name of Hilton's Point, with the south side of the river up to the falls of Squamscot, and three miles in breadth into the main land [6].

Sir William Alexander sold all his right in Nova Scotia, excepting Port Royal, to St. Etienne, lord of La Tour, a

1 Winthrop, Journal, 20.

2 The other 4 were, gov. Winthrop, dep. gov. Dudley, Sir R. Salstonstall, and John Revell, esquire. Prince, ii. 2, 14.

3 Prince, ii. 1, 2. He died 30 September. The lot, that he had chosen, was the great square, lying between Cornhill on the *southeast*; Tremont street on the *northwest*; Queen street [now Court street] on the *northeast*; and School street on the *southwest* [Prince, ii. 2.]; a description, which precisely marks the present burying place near the Stone Chapel. His wife, lady Arabella, coming from "a family of a noble earldom into a wilderness of wants," was inadequate to the trials of so great a transition. She was taken sick soon after her arrival at Salem, where she first landed, and there died. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxiv. The ship, in which gov. Winthrop came over, was named from her.—Of the people, who came in the ships with gov. Winthrop, 200 at least died from April to December. Ibid. p. 6. About 100 persons, totally discouraged, returned in the same ships to England. Chalmers, i. 152.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xvii. Prince. ii. 2, 3. He "was one of the profanest among us. He came from London, and I know not by what friends shuffled into our company." Ibid.

5 This tract was called NEW HAMPSHIRE. Belknap, N. Hamp. i. 14. The grant is in Hazard, i. 289—293. Those transactions were in 1629.

6 Belknap, N. Hamp. ii. 10—15. The patent sets forth, that Hilton and his associates had at their own proper charges transported servants, built houses, and planted corn at Hilton's Point, now Dover, and intended the farther increase of the plantation. Ibid. See p. 187 of this volume

French Huguenot; on condition, that the inhabitants of the territory should continue subjects of the Scottish crown. The French still retained possession 1.

The Dutch continuing their pretensions to the land lately settled by the Swedes, one of the Swedes built a fort within the capes of Delaware, at a place called Hoarkill 2.

Sir Robert Heath, attorney general of Charles I. obtained a grant of the region, which stretches southward of the Virginian coast from the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, comprehending the Louisiana territory on the Mississipi 3, by the name of Carolana 4.

Charles I. issued a proclamation, forbidding the disorderly trading with the savages in New England, especially the furnishing of them with weapons and habiliments of war 5.

1631.

Robert, earl of Warwick, having the last year received a grant from the council of Plymouth 6 of all that part of New England, which extends from Narraganset river one hundred and twenty miles on a strait line near the shore toward the southeast, as the coast lies toward Virginia, and within that breadth from the Atlantic ocean to the South sea, now made it over to William, viscount Say and Seal, Robert, lord Brook, and their associates. This is the original patent for Connecticut 7.

The

1 Chalmers, i. 93. Conduite des Franc. 103. Brit. Emp. i. 170. This grant of Sir W. Alexander is in Hazard, Coll. i. 307—309.

2 Smith, N. Jersey, 22. This place has since been called Lewis Town. Ib.

3 Univ. Hist. xl. 274.

4 Chalmers, i. 515—517. He seems however to have made no settlement; and at a future day [See A. D. 1663.] his patent was declared to have become void, because the conditions, on which it had been granted, were never fulfilled. Ibid. The authors of the Universal History [xl. 274—278.] says, that Sir Robert Heath conveyed his right to the earl of Arundel; that this earl was at the expence of planting several parts of the country, but that the civil wars, breaking out, put a stop to the design; that, by different conveyances, the property of the whole country devolved at length on Dr. Cox, who, at great expence, discovered part of it, and, in a memorial to king William, incontestibly proved his claim to it; and that his son, Daniel Cox, Esq. who resided fourteen years in the country, continued his father's claim, and published a very full account of it.

5 Chalmers, i. 168. This Proclamation is in Hazzard, Coll. i. 311, 312.

6 It had been confirmed to him by a patent from Charles I. Trumbull, i. 13.

7 Trumbull, i. 12, 13. A copy of this Patent is in Hazard, Coll. i. 318.

The president and council for New England made a grant to Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge of a hundred acres of land for every person, whom they should transport to the Province of Maine within seven years, who should continue there three years; and an absolute grant of twelve thousand acres of land, "as their proper inheritance for ever," to be laid out near the river, commonly called Pemaquid [1].

King Charles gave a special commission to the earl of Dorset and others, "for the better plantation of Virginia [2]."

The same king granted a licence, under the sign manual, to William Clayborne, "to traffick in those parts of America, for which there was already no patent granted for sole trade." Clayborne, and his associates, with the intention of monopolizing the trade of Chesepeak, planted a small colony on the Isle of Kent, situated in the centre of the province, soon after granted to lord Baltimore. That province afterward found cause to regret, that a people had nestled within its limits, who paid unwilling obedience to its laws [3].

Neither the soil, nor the climate, of the inhospitable island of Newfoundland answering the expectations of lord Baltimore; that worthy nobleman, having heard much of the fertility and other advantages of Virginia, now visited that colony. Observing, that, though the Virginians had established trading houses in some of the islands toward the source of the bay of Chesepeak, they had formed no settlements to the northward of the river Potowmac, he determined to procure a grant of territory in that happier climate. Charles I. readily complied with his solicitations; but before the patent could be finall adjusted, and pass the seals, this eminent statesman died [4].

The Massachusetts colonists early determined to build a fortified town. The governor, with the assistants and other principal persons, having already agreed on a place for this purpose, on the northwest side of Charles river, about three

318; and in Trumbull, Connect. i. Appendix, No. 1. The other patentees were Robert, lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Esq. Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humphreys, and Herbert Pelham, Esquires.

1 Hazard, Coll. i. 315—317. where is an abstract of this grant, called "The Pemaquid Grant." It appears that "the people or servants" of Aldworth and Elbridge had been settled on this river three years. Ibid.

2 This Commission is in Hazard, Coll. i. 312—314.

3 Chalmers, i. 207.

4 Ibid. i. 201. He died 15 April, 1632.

miles from Charlestown [1]; they, in the spring of this year, commenced the execution of the design. The governor set up the frame of a house on the spot where he first pitched his tent, in the selected place. The deputy governor completed his house, and removed his family. The town was taken under the patronage of the government, and was called Newtown. It soon appearing however, that Boston would be the principal place of commerce; and Chichetawbut, a sagamore of the neighbouring Indians [2], now making voluntary professions of friendship; governor Winthrop in the autumn, removed the frame of his house into Boston; and the scheme of a fortified town was gradually relinquished [3].

The ecclesiastical concerns of the Massachusetts colony were sacredly regarded; and now the third church was gathered at Dorchester; the fourth, at Roxbury; the fifth, at Lynn; and the sixth, at Watertown [4].

At the first court of election in Massachusetts, "that the body of the commons might be preserved of good and honest men," it was ordered, that, from that time, no persons be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were members of some of the churches within its limits [5]. At this election, one hundred and sixteen took the oath of freemen [6].

Thomas Williams having undertaken to set up a ferry between Winisimet and Charlestown, the general court established the rate of the ferry between those two places, and between Winisimet and Boston [7]. An order of the court of as-

1 They first agreed (6 December, 1630) "to build a town fortified upon the Neck" between Roxbury and Boston; but that place was soon after given up, 1. Because men would be forced to keep two families. 2. There was no running water; and if there were any springs, they would not suffice the town. 3. Most of the people had built already, and would not be able to build again. After many consultations, the place, described in the text, having been agreed on by all to be "a fit place for a beautiful town," was determinately fixed. On this spot a town was laid out in squares, the streets intersecting each other at right angles. All the streets were named; and a square, reserved for a *Market Place*, remains open, and retains it name, to this day. See the authorities at note 3.

2 At Neponset. He died of the small pox in 1633. Winthrop, Journ. 56.

3 Winthrop, Journ. 21. Prince, ii. 6, 7. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 6—8; viii. 41.

4 Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 15. Mather, Magnal. i. 23.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvi. Wonderwork. Prov. 39.

6 Prince, ii. 29. Johnson says, "about 83," and Hubbard, 107; but follow Prince, who had reviewed those authors, and would not have varied from both, without special cause. Whichever was the true number, there were, to use the language of Hubbard, "enough for a foundation."

7 Prince. ii. 29. The court enacted, that he should have 3d. a person from Winisimet to Charlestown, and 4d. from Winisimet to Boston. Ibid.

sistants

sistants at Boston, for levying thirty pounds on the several plantations, for clearing a creek, and opening a passage from Charles river to the *new town*, shews that this town was yet destined for the benefit of the colony at large; and marks the progress of the several towns in the colony [1]. The court of assistants ordered, that corn should pass for payment of all debts at the usual rate at which it was sold, unless money or beaver were expressly named [2].

The small pox, breaking out among the natives at Saugus, swept away the aboriginal inhabitants of whole towns [3].

The Swedes built a fort on the west of the Dalaware, and called it Christeen. Peter Lindstrom, their engineer, having at this place laid out a small town, they here made their first settlement [4].

After a long relaxation of the spirit of enterprize, Lucas Fox made a voyage to the northern parts of America in search of a northwest passage to India. Toward this enterprize Charles I. furnished one ship, completely fitted, and victualled for eighteen months; and when Fox was presented to him, gave him a map, containing all the discoveries made by his predecessors, with instructions, and a letter to the Japanese emperor, if he should reach Japan. Near the main land on the west side of Hudson's Bay, Fox discovered an island, which he named Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome; and afterwards discovered and named Brook Cobham Island (now

1 Ibid. 30, 31. The order was, that there be levied from

Winisimet -	*l*0. 15*s*.	Boston - -	*l*5.
Wessagusset -	2.	Dorchester -	4. 10.
Saugus [Lynn]	1.	Roxbury -	3.
Nantasket -	10.	Salem - -	3.
Watertown -	5.	Charlestown -	4. 10.

The passage from Charles river is still open.

2 Prince, ii. 35. Chalmers, i. 154. In 1630, corn was 10 shillings "a strike: and beaver, 6 shillings a pound. "We made laws," says Dudley, "to restrain selling corn to the Indians; and to leave the price of beaver at liberty, which was presently sold for 10*s*. and 20*s*. a pound." Prince, ii. 1. A milch cow, in 1631, was valued from 25*l*. to 30*l*. sterl. Hutchinson, i. 27.

3 I. Mather, N. Eng. 23. When Dr. I. Mather wrote, there were living some old planters, who on that occasion, helped to bury whole families of the natives at once. In one of the wigwams they found an infant sucking at the breast of its dead mother; every Indian of the place being dead. Ibid. Many, when seized with disease, were deserted by their relations, and "died helpless," unless relieved by the English, who visited their wigwams, and contributed all in their power to their assistance. Wonderwork. Providence, 51.

4 Smith, N. Jersey, 22.

called

called Marble Island), Dun Fox Island, and a cluster of islands, which he called Briggs's Mathematics. He also discovered king Charles's Promontory, Cape Maria, Trinity Islands, Cook's Isle, lord Weston's Portland, and the land, stretching to the southeast of this last promontory, which he called Fox's Farthest. On his return, he gave names to every point of land on that coast, and to every inlet, and adjacent island [1].

Thomas James, sent near the same time on the same voyage of discovery, visited Hudson's Bay; came to a promontory, which he named Henrietta Maria; and ran his ship aground on an island, which he afterward called Chaarleston Island; where he remained with his crew during the winter. His discoveries were beyond those of Hudson, Baffin, and other navigators [2].

1632.

Charles I. by the treaty of St. Germain, resigned the right, which he had claimed to New France, Acadie, and Canada, as the property of England, to Lewis XIII. king of France. Chalmers says, the signal event of the capture of Quebec was unknown, when peace was re-established in April, 1629; and assigns this as the reason why king Charles, at that treaty, absolutely restored to France, those territories generally and without limits; and particularly Port Royal, Quebec, and Cape Breton [3]. From the restitution of these territories to France, may be dated the commencement of a long train of ills to the colonies and to England. To this transaction, in the judgement of the able historian, last quoted, may be fairly traced back the colonial disputes of later times, and the American revolution [4].

Soon after this restitution, the French king granted to De Razilly the lands around the bay and river of St. Croix [5].

1 Foster, Voy. 359—367.

2 Foster, Voy. 367—375. Harris, Voy. i. 634. Univ. Hist. xli. 102. For their shelter, they made huts of pieces of wood, which they placed in an inclined posture around a tree, and covered with boughs of trees and with their sails; but they all became frozen in their limbs. After suffering extreme hardships, they returned, in 1632, to England. Ibid.

3 Chalmers, i. 93. Brit. America, book xiv. 246. Hazard, Coll. i. 319.

4 Chalmers, i. 112.

5 Ibid. i. 186. This grant was made in 1633. Charlevoix, Nouv. France. i. 173. Hutchinson [Massachus. i. 128.] says, it gave "12 leagues on the sea, and 20 leagues into the land;" but he mistakes in saying, that the grant was made to *La Tour*, if Chalmers and the French historians are correct.

The

The patent, designed for George Calvert, lord Baltimore, was, on his decease, fitted up to his son Cecilius Calvert, lord Baltimore. When king Charles signed the patent, he gave to the new province the name of Maryland, in honour of his queen Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry the Great, king of France. Lord Baltimore held it of the crown of England, paying yearly for ever two Indian arrows [1].

The king of England, "informed of great distraction and disorder in the plantations in New England," referred the subject to the consideration of his privy council. The council, after examination, passed a resolution that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove beneficial to the kingdom, and profitable to the settlers, as that the adventurers "had cause to go on chearfully with their undertakings; with an assurance that, if things were conducted according to the design of the patent, his majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing farther, which might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people in those plantations [2].

The court of assistants in Massachusetts ordered, that sixty pounds be leived out of the several plantations, toward making a palisade about Newtown [3]. The first considerable accession of inhabitants to that town was made this year by

1 Univ. Hist. xl. 466. It was originally included in the patent of the South Virginia company, and considered as a part of Virginia; but on the dissolution of that company, the king made this grant to lord Baltimore. Ib.

2 Hutchinson, Massachus. i. 31, 32, and Coll. 52—54; Hazard, Coll. i. 324, 325; Morton, 96; where is the order of council. The *information* of the king was derived from a Petition of Sir Christopher Gardiner, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, capt. Mason, and others, exhibited against the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts. The conclusion," says governor Bradford, "was, against all men's expectation, an order for our incouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries." Ibid. Gardiner was a high papist, who came to New England; but for some miscarriages left the country. Ibid.

3 Prince, ii. 56, 57. The proportion was as follows:

1.	Watertown	£ 8	7.	Salem	£ 4. 10s.
2.	The New-town	8	8.	Boston	8
3.	Charlestown	7	9.	Roxbury	7
4.	Meadford	8	10.	Dorchester	7
5.	Saugus and	6	11.	Wessagusset	5
6.	Marble Harbour		12.	Winisimet	1. 10s.

The reason for *renewing* the design of a fortified town is not assigned. It was probable on account of new dangers. Hutchinson [Massachus. 27.] says: "They were frequently alarmed this year by the Indians." The fortification was doubtless made. A fosse, dug around the New Town [Cambridge], is, in some places, visible to this day. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 9.

a company, which had recently arrived from England, and had begun to settle at Mount Wollaston; but which removed to Newtown, in August, by order of court 1.

The choice of magistrates in the colony of Massachusetts was, for the first time, made by the freemen, whose number was now increased by the addition of about fifty-three 2.

A fortification on the Corn hill, in Boston, was begun; and the people from Charlestown, Roxbury, and Dorchester, worked on it in rotation 3.

Conant's island, in Boston harbour, was demised to governor Winthrop, and was hence denominated Governor's Garden; but it is now called Governor's Island 4.

The first church at Boston was begun to be built by the congregation of Boston and Charlestown 5. The greater part of the members of the church having early removed from Charlestown to Boston, and the entire number of members being now one hundred and fifty-one, they amicably divided themselves into two distinct churches. The church in Boston retained Mr. Wilson for its pastor; the church in Charlestown invited Mr. Thomas James to its pastoral care 6.

The court of assistants ordered, that there be a house of correction, and a house for the beadle, built at Boston with speed. It also ordered, that no person should take any to-

1 Winthrop, Journ. 42. "These were Mr. Hooker's company."

2 Wonderworking Providence, p. 53.

3 Winthrop, Journ. 36. Prince [ii. 61.] supposes this to be what is now called Fort Hill. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 243.

4 Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 299. It has continued in governor Winthrop's family to the present time; and is now in the possession of the Honourable James Winthrop, esquire, of Cambridge.

5 Winthrop, Journ. 42. It had mud walls and a thatched roof; and stood on the south side of State Street, a little below the place, where the old State house now stands. Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 189.

6 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxv. Prince, 250. The number of members, who asked a dismission from the church at Boston, in order to form a new church at Charlestown, was 33. They were dismissed 14 October; and embodied into a distinct congregational church 2 November, at which time Mr. James, who had recently arrived from England, was ordained their pastor. Mr. Wilson, who had been previously ordained their teacher (not *pastor*, as was stated p. 267 from Mr. Prince), was chosen and ordained pastor at Boston 22 November. Winthrop, Journ. 46. Prince, ii. 69—73. If the first church at Boston be considered as translated, in its organized state, from Charlestown to Shawmut, it was the *second* church, gathered in Massachusetts; if, as a *new* and distinct church from the time of its division, it was the *seventh*. The order of the first churches, as stated in Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 15, was given in reliance on Johnson (Wonderwork. Prov.); but it is not entirely accurate.

bacco

bacco *publicly*; and that every one should pay a penny for every time of taking tobacco in any place [1].

In this period of colonial history, the duties and the expences of office were more formidable, than its honours were alluring. The general court of Plymouth passed an act, that whoever should refuse the office of governor should pay twenty pounds sterling, unless he were chosen two years successively; and that whoever should refuse the office of counsellor or magistrate should pay ten pounds [2].

Sir Thomas Warner, governor of St. Christopher's, sent a small colony of English people to inhabit Montserrat [3].

Some Zealanders, trading about this time to the Leeward Islands, were so well pleased with Tobago, that, on their return home, the company of merchants, to which they belonged, undertook to settle that island, and gave it the name of New Walcheren; but this settlement was soon broken up by the Spaniards [4].

1633.

The grant to lord Baltimore gave umbrage to the planters of Virginia. They therefore presented a petition to Charles I. remonstrating against "some grants of a great portion of lands of that colony, so near their habitations, as will be a general disheartening to them, if they shall be divided into several governments." The privy council, having heard what was alleged on each side, thought fit to leave lord Baltimore to his patent, and the complainants to the course of law; but gave orders for such an intercourse and conduct, as should prevent a war with the natives, and farther disagreement among themselves [5]. William Cleyborne continued to claim Kent Island, and refused submission to the jurisdiction of Maryland, because the government of Virginia, knowing no reason why the

1 Prince, ii. 68.

2 Prince, ii. 75. Such an example cannot perhaps be found in the annals of any other nation. The *law* alone proves, that no demagogues then aspired at the chief magistracy. An historical *fact* confirms the remark. Edward Winslow was the next year (1633) chosen governor, "Mr. Bradford having been governor about ten years, and now *by importunity got off*." Winthrop, Journ. 47.

3 Univ. Hist. xli. 318.

4 Univ. Hist. xli. 321. The number of settlers soon increased to about 200, and began to erect a fort; but the Caribbean Indians applied for assistance to the Spaniards, who sent a force, which demolished the rising fort and exterminated the colony. Ibid.

5 The order of council is entire in Hazard, Coll. i. 387.

rights

rights of that place should be surrendered, gave countenance to his opposition. This transaction offers the first example, in colonial history, of the dismemberment of an ancient colony, by the formation of a new province with separate and equal rights 1.

The jealousy of Virginia was directed toward its religious, as well as territorial, concerns; for its legislature now enacted severe laws, to suppress religious sectaries, which began to appear in the colony. This measure induced some people, who had already gone to Virginia, to flee into other colonies; and prevented others from coming for settlement 2.

The French, in taking possession of Acadie pursuant to the treaty of St. Germain, had dispossessed the Plymouth colonists of their trading house at Penobscot 3. Additional calamities were now expected. Intelligence was brought to the governor of Massachusetts, that the French had bought the Scotch plantation near Cape Sable; that the fort there with all the ammunition was delivered up to them; that the cardinal of France had sent over some companies already; and that preparation was made to send more the next year, with a number of priests and Jesuits. Alarmed at this intelligence, the governor called the assistants, and principal men in the colony 4, to Boston, to advise proper measures. It was agreed to finish, with all expedition, the fort begun at Boston; to erect another at Nantasket; and to hasten the planting of Agawam 5, lest an enemy should prevent them by taking possession of the place. John Winthrop, a son of the governor, repaired, by order of the government, to Agawam, with twelve men, and began a plantation. The alarm however was groundless. The French, aiming at trading merely, did not molest the English plantations; yet their spoliation of the Plymouth trading house gave just occasion for suspicion and vigilance 6.

The legislature of Massachusetts passed an act, prohibiting the purchase of lands from the Indians, without licence from

1 Chalmers, i. 209.

2 Brit. Emp. iii. 180.

3 Chalmers, i. 154. Winthrop, Journal, 37. If the account in p. 244 be correct, this trading house was on *Kennebeck* river, unless another house had been erected since. But I adhere to my authorities. The French plundered the Plymouth trading house in 1632, "carrying thence 800 weight of beaver and other goods." Ibid.

4 "The ministers and captains and some other chief men." Winthrop.

5 "Being the best place in the land for tillage and cattle." Ibid.

6 Winthrop, Journ. 47, 48. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvii.

the

the government [1]. While it thus cautiously guarded against the danger of savage hostilities, it equally guarded against the evils of idleness, luxury, and extortion; for it required constables to present unprofitable fowlers, and tobacco takers, to the next magistrate [2]; and ordered, that artificers, such as carpenters and masons, should not receive more than two shillings a day; and labourers not more than eighteen pence, and proportionably; and that merchants should not advance more than four pence in the shilling above what their goods cost in England [3].

Three ministers of celebrity, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone, together with John Haynes, afterward governor of Connecticut, and two hundred emigrants from England, arrived at Boston. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone proceeded to Newtown, where the one was ordained pastor, and the other, teacher. Mr. Cotton remained in Boston, and was an assistant in the ministry to the first church in that town. His example and counsels were patriarchal. It was he, who principally delineated the ecclesiastical polity of the New England churches, which, from this time, were styled Congregational [4]. The fame of the removal of these eminent men invited over great numbers of Puritans, who could find no rest under archbishop Laud's merciless administration [5].

Wahquimacut, a sachem on the river Connecticut, having solicited the governors of the New England colonies to send men to make settlements on the river [6], the Plymouth colonists

1 Belknap, Biog. ii. 417.

2 Wynne, i. 74.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvi. "Those good orders," regulating the prices of labour, and the profits of trade, "were not," says Hubbard, "of long continuance, but did expire with the first golden age in this New World." Ibid.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxviii. Hutchinson, i. 419. See Note VI. at the end of the volume. Mr. Cotton had an early and intimate connection with the Massachusetts colonists. At the embarkation for N. England in 1630, he preached a sermon to gov. Winthrop and his company, from 2 Sam. vii. 10. entitled "God's Promise to the Plantations." On his arrival at Massachusetts, he had very great influence in the affairs of church and of state. Hubbard says, "whatever he delivered in the pulpit, was soon put into an order of court if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."

5 Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 13. Neal says, that for several years hardly a vessel came into these parts, but was crowded with passengers for New England. Ibid.

6 The Pequots were conquering the river Indians, and driving their sachems from that part of the country. Wahquimacut, in 1631, made a journey to Plymouth and Boston, hoping that, if he should persuade the English to settle there, they would be his protectors. Gov. Winthrop treated

nists had already made discoveries on that noble stream, and found a place, where they judged a trading house might be advantageously erected [1]. Governor Winslow and Mr. Bradford now visited Boston, and proposed to governor Winthrop and his council to join with Plymouth in a trade to Connecticut for hemp and beaver, and in the erection of a house for the purposes of commerce. This proposal being declined, the people of Plymouth determined to undertake the enterprize at their own risk [2]. The materials for a house, entirely prepared, were put on board a vessel, and committed to a chosen company, which sailed for Connecticut. The Dutch of New Netherlands, hearing of the design, had just taken a station on that river, at the place where Hartford now stands; made a light fort; and planted two pieces of cannon [3]. On the approach of the Plymouth adventurers, the Dutch forbade them to proceed up the river, ordered them to strike their colours, and threatened to fire on them. But the commander of the enterprize, disregarded the prohibition and the menaces, went resolutely forward, and, landing on the west side of the river, set up his house about a mile above that of the Dutch, and soon after fortified it with palisadoes. This was the first house erected in Connecticut [4].

The

treated him with generosity, but paid no attention to his proposal. Gov. Winslow seems to have gone soon after to Connecticut, and discovered the river and the adjacent parts, "when the Dutch had neither trading house, nor any pretence to a foot of land there." But whether the Dutch, or the English of Plymouth, were the first discoverers of the river, is uncertain. Trumbull, i. 15, 16.

1 Near the mouth of Little river in Windsor. Ibid. and Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 167.

2 It being reported, that the Dutch were about to build on Connecticut river, Winslow and Bradford represented it as necessary to prevent them from taking possession of that fine country; but Winthrop objected to the making a plantation there, because there were three or four thousand warlike Indians on the river; because the bar at the mouth was such, that small pinnaces only could enter in at high water; and because seven months in the year, no vessels could go in, on account of the ice and the violence of the stream. Winthrop, Journ. 51.

3 Smith says, that the Dutch built a fort on Connecticut river in 1623; but according to Dr. Trumbull, [Hist. Connec. i. 21.] Smith represents it "as built ten years before it was."

4 Prince, ii. 93—96. Trumbull, i. 15—21. The place of this settlement was called by the natives Natawanute. The sachems, who were the original owners of the soil, having been driven from this part of the country by the Pequots; William Holmes, who conducted the enterprize from Plymouth, took them with him to their home, and restored them to their rights. Of these sachems the Plymouth people purchased the land, where they erected their house. The conquering Indians were offended

The river and country of Connecticut now began to attract much attention from the colonists. Several vessels went into this river, in the course of the year, to trade. John Oldham of Dorchester, Samuel Hall, and two other persons, travelled westward into the country, as far as this river, on which they discovered many eligible situations for settlement [1].

The jealousy of the parent country, or rather of its arbitrary monarch and his court, was, at this early period, directed against the infant colony of Massachusetts. An order was issued by the privy council, to stay several ships in the river Thames, ready to sail, freighted with passengers and provisions: but it appears not to have been effectually executed; for, during the year, great numbers emigrated to New England. By the same order of council, the letters patent for the plantation in New England were required to be brought to the council board [2].

A specimen of rye was brought to the court of Massachusetts, as the first fruits of English grain [3].

A ship of sixty tons was built at Medford [4]; and a water mill at Roxbury [5].

At the close of this year, and in the following winter, the small pox broke out again among the natives of Massachusetts, and made great devastations among this unhappy race, destined, by various means, to ultimate extermination [6].

The colony of Plymouth added two assistants to the former number, making seven in the whole; and this number was never exceeded in its subsequent elections [7].

offended at the restoration of the original proprietors of the country; and the proximity of two such neighbours, as the irritated Dutch, and the ferocious Pequots, rendered it difficult and hazardous for the English to retain their new purchase. Ibid.

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvii. Trumbull, i. 20.

2 Chalmers, 156. This order is in Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvi; Hutchinson, i. 32, 33; and Hazard, Coll. i. 341.

3 Hutchinson, i. 24. "This poor people," says Johnson, "greatly rejoiced to see the land would bear it."

4 Medford was begun to be settled very early, but we have scarcely any account of its first settlement. Deputy governor Dudley, speaking of the first transactions of the colonists, who arrived in 1630, says, "some of us" planted "upon Mistick, which was named Meadford." Lett. to countess of Lincoln, 14. It was so considerable, as to be taxed with the other towns in 1632. See p. 219.

5 Winthrop, Journal, 56.

6 Ibid. 56. Hubbard, MS. Eng. chap. xxix. Morton, 100. Hubbard says, this part of the country, which had been most populated with Indians, was almost "unpeopled" by this disease.

7 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xvi.

1634.

Lord Baltimore laid the foundation of his province on the broad basis of security to property, and of freedom in religion; granting, in absolute fee, fifty acres of land to every emigrant; and establishing Christianity agreeably to the old common law, of which it is a part, without allowing pre-eminence to any particular sect [1]. George Calvert, brother of the governor, arrived early this year at Point Comfort, near the mouth of the Potowmac, with the first colony, consisting of about two hundred Roman Catholics from England [2]. Proceeding to Potowmac river, he passed by the Indian town of that name, and went to Piscataway, where, by presents to the head men, he conciliated their friendship to such a degree that they offered to cede one part of their town to the settlers, and to live in the other until they could gather their harvest; after which they were to resign the whole to the English. Calvert, thus amicably, obtaining possession of the whole town, gave it the name of St. Mary's; and applied himself, with great assiduity, to the cultivation of his new colony; the settlement of which is said to have cost lord Baltimore above forty thousand pounds sterling [3].

The settlements in Massachusetts were now extended more than thirty miles from the capital [4]; and the number of freemen was greatly multiplied. So remote were some townships from the seat of government, and so great the inconvenience of assembling all the freemen for the business of legislation; that the constitution was altered, by general consent of the towns. At a general court for elections at Newtown, twenty-four of the principal inhabitants of the colony appeared as the representatives of the body of freemen. Before they proceeded to the choice of magistrates, they asserted their right to a greater share in the government, than they had hitherto been allowed, and passed several resolutions [5], defining the powers of

1 Chalmers, i. 207.

2 Chalmers, ibid Belknap, Biog. ii. 376. Humphreys, Hist. Account, 28. They sailed from England in November 1633; and were chiefly gentlemen of good families. Ibid.

3 Univ. Hist. xl. 468. Chalmers, i. 207. Europ. Settlements, ii. 228.

4 Hutchinson, i. 437.

5 They resolved, that none but the General Court has power to chuse and admit freemen; to make and establish laws, to erect and appoint officers, as governor, deputy governor, assistants, treasurer, secretary, captain, lieutenants, ensigns, "or any of like moment," or to remove such upon

of the general court, and ordaining trial by jury. After the election of magistrates, they farther determined, that there should be four general courts every year [1]; that the whole body of freemen should be present at the court of election only; and that the freemen of every town might choose deputies, to act in their names at the other general courts, which deputies should have the full power of all the freemen [2]. The legislative body thus became settled; and, with but inconsiderable alterations, remained in this form during the continuance of the charter [3]. This was the second house of representatives in the American colonies [4].

This innovation exciting an inquiry into the nature of the liberty and privileges of the people, which threatened disturbance to the colony; the ministers, and the most prudent citizens, were consulted, respecting a body of laws, adapted to the state of the colony, and an uniform order of discipline in the churches [5].

The colony of Massachusetts took early care to prevent the encroachments of the Dutch. Some persons, dispatched in the bark Blessing [6], after making farther discovery of Long Island, proceeded to the Dutch plantation at Hudson's river, where they were kindly entertained by the Dutch governor

upon misdemeanour, also to prescribe their duties and powers; to raise money and taxes; and to dispose of lands, "viz. to give and confirm proprieties." It was farther ordered, that the constable of every plantation shall, upon precept received from the secretary, give timely notice to the freemen of the plantation where he dwells, to send so many of their said members, as the precept shall direct, to attend upon public service. It was also "agreed, that no trial shall pass upon any for life, or banishment, but by a Jury so summoned, or by the General court." Hazard, Coll. i. 320, 321. The representatives, at the same time, imposed a fine on the court of assistants for violating an order of the general court [Hutchinson, i. 36.]; but it was "remitted again before the court broke up." Winthrop, Journ. 65.

1 The courts were soon reduced to two in a year. Hutchinson, i. 87.

2 "It shall be lawful for the freemen of every plantation to choose two or three of each town before every general court, to confer of, and prepare, such publick business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next general court; and such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen, shall have the full power and voices of the said freemen derived to them for the making and establishing of lawes, granting of lands, &c. and to deal in all other affairs of the commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own vote." Hazard, Coll. i. 321.

3 Hazard, Coll. i. 320, 321. Hutchinson, i. 35—37.

4 The first was in Virginia. See p. 161 of this volume.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvi.

6 Built at Mistic in 1631, and called the Blessing of the Bay.

Van Twilly, to whom they showed their commission, purporting, that the king of England had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects; and requesting him to forbear to build in that quarter. The Dutch governor wrote a courteous and respectful letter to the governor of Massachusetts, signifying, that the lords the States had granted the same territory to the West India company; and requesting, that the colony of Massachusetts would forbear to challenge it, until the matter should be decided between the king and the states [1]. It was resolved however, by a number of people in this colony, to plant Connecticut; and persons were deputed from towns, to view the country. The account, which they brought back, of the advantages of the place, and of the fertility of the soil, determined those, who had concerted the measure, to begin several plantations there immediately [2].

Storms, in the mean time, were gathering, which threatened to desolate the country. A special commission was given to the archbishop of Canterbury and eleven other persons, for governing the American colonies [3]. An order was also sent by the king's commissioners to the lord warden of the cinque ports, and other haven towns, to stop the promiscuous and disorderly departure out of the realm to America [4].

The Indians in Connecticut began hostilities against the English. Captains Stone and Norton of Massachusetts, going in a small bark into Connecticut river, to trade, and casting anchor about two leagues from the entrance, were visited by several Indians. Stone, having occasion to visit the Dutch trading house nearly twenty leagues up the river, procured some of these Indians to go to it, as pilots, with two of his men. These guides, putting ashore their skiff before their arrival at the place of destination, murdered the two Englishmen, while asleep. About twelve Indians, of the same tribe, remaining with the bark, taking the opportunity when some of the English were on shore, and the captain asleep in his cabin, murdered all on board, and then plundered and sunk the bark.

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvii.

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xli.

3 This commission, in the original Latin, is inserted in Hazard, Coll. i. 344—347; and, in English, Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxvi.

4 This order is in Hazard, Coll. i. 347. There also is inserted, "A CONCLUSION of the Lord's Commisioners for the government of NEW ENGLAND," in these words: "Sir Ferdinando Gorges is made Governor of the whole country.—They have divided the country in twelve Provinces.—And they disposed it into the hands of the twelve men—out of which twelve men there is a governor continually to be chosen."

The

The Pequots, if they did not actually perpetrate the murder, partook of the spoil [1]. The council of Massachusetts, on this occasion, sent messengers to treat with them, but obtained no satisfaction. The Pequots however sent messengers afterward with gifts to Massachusetts colony; and the governor and council, after a conference of several days, concluded with them a treaty of peace and friendship [2].

Roger Williams, minister of Salem, holding tenets, which were considered heretical and seditious, "tending equally to sap the foundation of the establishment in church and state [3]," and being found irreclaimable, was banished the jurisdiction [4].

Some people of Salem went to Agawam river, and began a town, which was called Ipswich; where a church was now gathered [5].

Mr. Humfrey, who had been chosen deputy governor at the formation of the colony in England, came to Massachusetts with his noble consort, the lady Susan, sister of the earl of Lincoln, bringing a valuable present to the ministers in the colony [6].

The governor and council, with several ministers and others, met at Castle island, in Boston harbour, and agreed on the erection of two platforms and one small fortification to secure

1 Some say, that the Pequots did this mischief. Dr. I. Mather [N. Eng. 24, 25.] says, that though they were not native Pequots, yet they had frequent intercourse with them; and that they tendered them some of the spoliated goods, which were accepted by the chief sachem of the Pequots. He adds, that some of the goods were tendered to the chief sachem of Niantick, who also received them. See Trumbull, i. 60, 61.

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxiii; Ind. War, 14—16. Josselyn [N. Eng. Rar. 107.] says, the country during this time was "really placed in a posture of war." Trumbull, i. 60, 61.

3 Chalmers, i. 156.

4 Hutchinson, i. 37, 38. Callender, R. Island, 18. Hubbard, in chap. xxx. of his MS. Hist. N. Eng. gives a minute account of the "disturbances both civil and ecclesiastical in the Massachusetts, by Mr. R. Williams in the year 1634."

5 Winthrop, Journ. 68. It was thus named at the court 4 August, "in acknowledgement of the great honour and kindness done to our people which took shipping" at the place of that name in England. Ibid.

6 Wonderwork. Providence, 66. Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 233.

7 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. xxvii. The present consisted of 16 heifers, valued at 20 *l.* each, sent by Mr. Richard Andrews, a private friend to the plantation. One was assigned to each of the ministers, and the remainder to the poor. Ibid. Winthrop, Journ. 67.

the town 1. These works were accordingly erected at the public expence 2.

In the infant capital we now perceive the first efforts toward a police, and the earliest dawnings of commerce. Select men were first chosen, this year, in Boston, for the general management of affairs. A market was erected. A house of entertainment was set up. The first merchant's shop was opened 3.

1635.

The colony of Massachusetts, apprized of the oppressive measure of a general government for New England, prepared to counteract it. The ministers, considered at that time as the fathers of the commonwealth, were consulted by the civil magistrates. At the request of the governor and assistants all the ministers in the colony, excepting one, met at Boston, to consider two cases; one of which was, what ought to be done, if a governor should be sent out of England. They unanimously agreed, that if such a governor were sent, the colony ought not to accept him, but to defend its lawful possessions, if able; "otherwise, to avoid or protract 4."

The deputies of this colony apprehending great danger to the commonwealth from the discretionary power of the magistrates, in many cases, for want of positive laws; it was agreed, that some men should be appointed "to frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance of a Magna Charta, which, being allowed by some of the ministers and the general court, should be received for fundamental laws 5."

When the English parliament began to inquire into the grievances of the nation, the patent by which the council of Plymouth was established, was complained of as a monopoly; and when those grievances were presented to the throne, the patent of New England was the first. The council itself was in disrepute with the high church party for having encouraged the settlement of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colo-

1 Winthrop, Journ. 68. Gov. Winthrop says, "to secure the city;" but this metropolis has never *yet* been incorporated by that name.

2 Wonderwork. Prov. 194; "at the expence of the country in general."

3 Winthrop, Journ. 62, 77. It is conjectured, that by the *market* nothing more is meant, than a *market place*, to which the market men might resort. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 254.

4 Winthrop, Journ. 78.

5 Ibid. 82.

nists,

nists, who fled from episcopal persecutions. Discouraged by the operation of these prejudices, that council resigned its charter to the king [1]. "The plantations, intrusted to the care of great corporate bodies, grew up stinted and unpromising, and seemed to wither away without hope of ultimate completion. The annihilation of these companies infused a principle of a new life. Restraint was no sooner removed, and men were left free to manage their own affairs in the way most agreeable to themselves, than the colonists engaged in every laudable pursuit, and acquired an extent of population, of commerce, of wealth, and of power, unexampled in the annals of the world [2]."

On the surrender of that charter, a *quo warranto* was immediately brought by Sir John Banks, the attorney general against the governor, deputy governor, and assistants of the corporation of Massachusetts, fourteen of whom appearing, and disclaiming the charter, judgment was given for the king, that the liberties and franchises of that corporation should be seized into the king's hands [3]. The arbitrary measures of the king and his ministry might have been ruinous to the infant colonies, but for the controuling power of Heaven. A great ship, built to bring over a general governor to New England, and to command on the coast, fell asunder in the launching; and the design was again frustrated [4].

The colonists of Massachusetts on account of the increase of cattle, experiencing inconveniences from the nearness of their settlements to each other, began to emigrate from the first settled towns. Some of the principal inhabitants of Ipswich, obtaining leave of the general court to remove to Quascacunquen, began a town at that place, and called it Newbury. Mr. Parker, a learned minister, who had been an assistant of Mr. Ward in the ministry at Ipswich, accompanied them [5]. Liberty of removal was also granted to Watertown and Roxbury, on condition of their continuance under the go-

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xvi. Belknap, N Hamp. i. 24. The council took previous care "to secure some portion of the expiring interest to such of themselves as were disposed to accept it." Ibid. "The Act of surrender" is in Hazard, Coll. i. 393; and the "Reasons" for it, ib. 390—392.

2 Chalmers, i. 96.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvi.

4 Ibid. chap. xxvii, xxxi. The quo warranto is in Hutchinson, Coll. 101—104; Hubbard, Coll. 423—425.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxviii. Mr. Parker and the people with whom he now removed, came from Wiltshire in England. Ibid.

vernment of Massachusetts 1. Musquetequid was purchased of the natives, by some of the Massachusetts colonists, who settled the place, and called it Concord 2. The reverend Peter Hobart and his associates, from Hingham, in the county of Norfolk in England, began to settle a town, to which they gave the name of Hingham 3. A church was gathered at Scituate, in Plymouth colony, composed of members regularly dismissed from the church in Plymouth 4.

Settlements were now begun to be made on Connecticut river. Some of the people of Dorchester had made preparations for a settlement at a place on the west side of the river, called by the Indians Mattaneang 5; and the inhabitants of Newtown and Watertown had been contemplating a removal. On the fifteenth of October about sixty men, women, and children, with their horses, cattle, and swine, commenced a removal from Massachusetts, through the wilderness, to Connecticut river; and, after a very difficult and fatiguing journey of fourteen days, arrived at the places of their destina-

1 Winthrop, Journ. 82.

2 Wonderwork. Providence, 79, 81. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvii. It was called Concord, "on account of the peaceable manner in which it was obtained." Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 240. The tract was six miles square.

3 Hingham Records, copied by President Stiles. The house lots of the settlers were drawn 18 September, 1635. The Rev. Peter Hobart was there on that day, "and drew a lot with the twenty-nine." Ibid. He arrived in N. England 8 June with his family. Hobart's MS. Journal.

4 The Rev. John Lothrop's MS. Records of the churches of Scituate and Barnstable, copied by President Stiles, who found the MS. in 1769 in the hands of the Rev. Elijah Lothrop of Gilead in Connecticut, and remarked: "I account it the more valuable, as these churches of Scituate and Barnstable have no records till many years after their gathering." The *settlement* of Scituate commenced in 1634. The Rev. John Lothrop arrived there 27 September; the dismission of the members from Plymouth, "in case they joyned in a body att Situate," was 23 November, 1634. The church was formed by covenant 8 January, and Mr. Lothrop was inducted into the pastoral office 19 January, 1635. Ibid.

5 Hubbard [MS. N. Eng. chap. xli.] says, some of the Dorchester people went to Connecticut at the close of the last year; Dr. Trumbull [i. 49.] says, they went this summer. The place, which they selected, was near the Plymouth trading house. Plymouth was dissatisfied with this supplantation by Massachusetts; and there was danger of contention between the two colonies; but the Dorchester settlers made such offers of satisfaction, that Plymouth accepted them*. Winthrop, Journ. 86. Hutchinson, i. 48. Trumbull, i. 50. The Rev. Dr. M'Clure of Windsor [Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 167.] says, The right of settling here they purchased of the old Plymouth company in England; and the soil, of the natives the year proceeding their removal.

* *The compensation was* 50 *l*; 40 *acres of meadow*; *and a large tract of upland. Coll. Hist. Soc.* ix. 153.

tion.

tion [1]. Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick, the ministers of Dorchester, who were accompanied by the greatest part of their church, settled at Mattaneang, which they called Windsor. Several people from Watertown took possession of a fine tract of meadow at Pauquiaug, lower down the river, where they commenced a plantation, which they called Wethersfield. Others from Newtown began a plantation, at Sukiang, between those settlements, which was afterward called Hartford [2].

John Winthrop, a son of the governor of Massachusetts returning from England, brought a commission from lord Say and Seal, lord Brook, and others, to be their governor at the river Connecticut; with men, ordnance, ammunition, and two thousand pounds sterling for the erection of a fort [3]. Soon after his arrival at Boston, he sent a bark of thirty tons with twenty men, to take possession of the mouth of that river, and begin a fortification. A few days after their arrival at the place designated, a Dutch vessel appeared off the harbour, sent from New Netherlands, to take possession of the entrance of the same river, and to erect fortifications; but the English, having two pieces of cannon already mounted, prevented their landing [4]. The fort, now erected was called Saybrook fort [5].

The commission of Mr. Winthrop interfered with the settlements projected by the Massachusetts colonists; three of which they had already begun; but the agents of the lords in England, disposed to promote the general good, permitted them quietly to enjoy their possessions [6].

The general court of Massachusetts prohibited the currency of brass farthings; and ordered, that musket bullets should pass for farthings. It also established a commissioner for military affairs, with power of life and limb [7].

An extremely violent storm of wind and rain from the south east, on the fifteenth of August, did great injury in New England. Immense numbers of forest trees were destroyed.

1 Trumbull, i. 50. Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 167; ix. 154.

2 Trumbull, i. 49, 50. Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 166, 167. Hub. MS. N. Eng. xli.

3 Winthrop, Journ. 88. Trumbull, i. 50, 51. The Articles of agreement between the lord viscount Say and Seal and others, on the one part, and John Winthrop, esquire, on the other, dated 7 July, 1635, and Mr. Winthrop's commission, to be "governor of the river Connecticut, with the places adjoining thereunto during the space of one year," dated 18 July, are in Trumbull, ibid. Appendix No. II; Hazard, Coll. i. 395, 396.

4 Trumbull, i. 51.

5 Gov. Trumbull, MS. in Mass. Hist. Society.

6 Winthrop, Journ. 88. Trumbull, i. 50. Hutchinson, i. 47.

7 Winthrop, Journ. 89.

Many

Many houses were unroofed; many blown down; and the Indian corn was beaten to the earth. The tide rose twenty feet perpendicularly. At Narraganset, the natives were obliged to climb trees for safety; yet, the tide of flood returning before the usual time, many of them were drowned 1.

Sir Henry Vane, the younger, with a fleet of twenty sail, well provided with stores and passengers, came to New England 2. During the year, nearly three thousand people 3, among whom were eleven ministers 4, came from England to Massachusetts; and about one hundred and forty-five freemen were added to the colony 5.

The company of New France conveyed the territory on the banks of the river St. John to Saint Etienne, and to La Tour, the general of that colony 6. Rossillon, commander of a French fort at La Heve, on the Nova Scotia shore, sent a French man of war to Penobscot, and took possession of the Plymouth trading house, and all the goods 7. The Plymouth colonists hired a large ship, and employed Girling, its master, attended by a bark of their own with twenty men, to displace the French, and recover possession. The French, amounting to about eighteen men, having notice of the expedition, fortified the place; and entrenched themselves so strongly, that Girling, after nearly expending all his ammunition, was ready to abandon the enterprise. The Plymouth bark coming to Massachusetts for consultation, the colonists agreed to aid the Plymouth neighbours with men and ammunition, at their charge, but not as in the common cause of the country. Such however was the scarcity of provisions, caused by the late hurricane, that they could not suddenly victual out a hundred men, the number requisite for the expedition. The subject was deferred for consideration; Girling was forced to return; and the Plymouth people never afterward recovered their interest at Penobscot 8.

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvii, xxix. Hutchinson, i. 53. "None now living in these parts, either English or Indian, had seen the like." The extremity of it continued five or six hours. "The marks of it will remain many years, in those parts where it was sorest." Morton, 103.

2 Univ. History, xxxix. 281.

3 Wonderwork. Prov. 87.

4 Josselyn, Voy. 256.

5 Wonderwork. Prov. 71.

6 Chalmers, i. 126.

7 Hubbard, MS. chap. xxvii.

8 Winthrop, Journ. 87. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvii.

The

The returns from New Netherlands, this year, were fourteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-one beavers, and one thousand four hundred and thirteen otters, estimated at one hundred thirty-four thousand guilders [1].

René Rohault, having entered into the Society of Jesus, resumed a project, which had been interrupted by the English conquest of Quebec, of founding a college in that city. The institution succeeded, and was of essential service to the colony. Many of the French were now encouraged to embark with their families for Canada [2]. M. Champlain died at Quebec, justly regretted by the colony of New France, of which he was the parent [3].

The French, under the conduct of M. Bretigny, established themselves on the island of Cayenne, and on the adjacent continent [4].

1636.

Preparation being made for a settlement at Suckiang, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, the ministers of Newtown, with their whole church and congregation, travelled above an hundred miles, through a hideous and trackless wilderness, to Connecticut. They had no guide, but their compass; no covering, but the heavens. They drave one hundred and sixty cattle, and subsisted on the milk of the cows, during the journey. On their arrival at the place of their destina-

1 Hazard, Coll. i. 397; where are the returns for almost every intermediate year from 1624 to 1635. In 1624, the returns were 4000 beavers, and 700 otters, estimated at 27125 guilders. The Dutch W. India company failed in 1634. From a state of its accounts, it appears, that

	Guilders.	Stuyvers.
Fort Amsterdam in N. Netherlands cost the company - -	4172.	10
and that the Province of N. Netherlands cost -	412800.	11

Ibid.

2 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 196, 197. Rohault had projected this seminary ten years before, at the time when the Jesuits first went into Canada. Ibid.

3 Ibid. Champlain was a man of great penetration, courage, constancy, probity, and patriotism. Charlevoix (ibid), in addition to these traits of his character, ascribes to him various and distinguished merit: "un historien fidèle et sincere, un voyageur, qui observe tout avec attention, un ecrivain judicieux, un bon géometre, et un habile homme de mer."

4 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 232. Bretigny was killed by the natives.

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tion, they began to build a town, which they afterward called Hartford [1].

This town and the other towns recently settled on Connecticut river [2], finding themselves without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, entered into a voluntary association; chose magistrates; and made laws for themselves, after the example of the colony, from which they proceeded. The first court in Connecticut was holden on the twenty-sixth of April [3].

For the better government of the Indians, and for their improvement in civility and Christianity, the colony of Plymouth made several laws for preaching the gospel to them; for admitting Indian preachers among them; and, with the concurrence of the principal Indians, for making orders and constituting courts, for appointing civil rulers, and other officers, to punish misdemeanors, with the liberty of appeal to the county court, and court of assistants [4].

Roger Williams, on his expulsion from Massachusetts, went to Seconk [Rehoboth], where he procured a grant of the land from Osamaquin, the chief sachem of Pokanoket. Advised by governor Winslow to remove from that place, which was within the jurisdiction of Plymouth colony, he held several treaties with Miantonimoh and Canonicus, the sachems of Narraganset, who assured him, that he should not want land for a settlement. With this assurance, he went over Seconk river, to a place, called by the Indians Mooshausick, where in conjunction with several of his friends, who followed him, he began a plantation; which, in grateful acknowledgment of the providential goodness, which he had experienced, he called Providence [5].

Complaint having been made to the general court of Massachusetts against John Wheelwright, for preaching a seditious sermon, he was sent for to the court, and convicted of sedition and contempt of authority. On his refusal to make the least retractation, the court ordered his removal

1 Winthrop, Journ. 100. Trumbull, i. 55. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 15. The land was purchased of Sunckquasson, the sachem and proprietor; but the evidence of this purchase being imperfect, a new purchase was made of the Indians in 1670; the deed, which is still on record, counting on the former purchase. Coll. Hist. Soc. ii. 6.

2 Windsor and Wethersfield.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xli. Trumbull, i. 54. The first court was holden at Newtown [Hartford]. The settlements on the river, a few of the first years, bore the same names with the towns in Massachusetts, from which the settlers came. Trumbull, ibid.

4 Plymouth Laws, 37, 38.

5 Callender, R. Island, 18, 19. Hutchinson, i. 38. Adams, N. Eng. 56.

out

out of the jurisdiction. Many of his adherents now removed from Massachusetts, and made a plantation at Rhode Island [1].

Sir Henry Vane, who came to New England the preceding year, was now chosen governor of Massachusetts [2]. Short however was his administration, and transient his popularity [3].

The general court of Massachusetts, about this time, enacted, that every particular township should have power of its own affairs, and to set mulcts upon any offender against public order, not exceeding twenty shillings; and liberty to choose prudential men, not exceeding seven, to order the affairs of the town. For the public safety, the colony was divided into three regiments; which were put under the command of three colonels with their lieutenants [4]. There were already twenty towns built and peopled in Massachusetts [5]. A ship of a hundred and twenty tons was built at Marblehead, by the people of Salem; and five mills were erected in the colony, in the course of the year [6]. The number of freemen added to the colony, this year, was about one hundred and twenty-five; the number of deputies was ordinarily between thirty and forty [7]. A new church having been gathered at Newtown, of which Thomas Shepard was the pastor, this society, on the removal of Mr. Hooker's congregation to Connecticut, purchased their dwelling

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxvii. Wheelwright had been a silenced minister in England. Ibid. chap. xxxix. Some of these adherents removed by order of the same court, for their justification of his doctrine, and for their reflections on the proceedings of the court. Ibid. xxxvii. Hubbard, in chap. xxxviii, gives a particular account of the disturbance in Massachusetts, from 1636 to 1641, by Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson.

2 Winthrop, Journ. 100.

3 Though he was not more than 24 or 25 years of age, his solemn deportment conciliated for him almost the whole colony. He appears to have been of a very enthusiastic temper; and the early colonial writers remarked, that his election would remain a blemish on the judgment of the electors, "while New England remains a nation." Chalmers, i. 100. It is allowed however, that his writings exhibit proofs of a strong mind, as well as vivid fancy; and that he was distinguished for his integrity and zeal. He returned to England in 1637; and suffered death in 1662, on the charge of high treason. Though Hume considered him as an enthusiast, yet he has described his deportment at his execution so as to render him an object of admiration. Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 172.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxii.

5 Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 13; "considerable towns."

6 Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 282. Winthrop, Journ. 105, 108. Of these mills, 2 were windmills, built at Boston and Charlestown; 3 were watermills, built at Salem, Ipswich, and Newbury. Ibid

7 Wonderwork. Providence, 106, 108.

houses

houses and lands, and made a permanent settlement [1]. This place was still under legislative patronage; for the general court now contemplated the erection of a public school here, and appropriated four hundred pounds for that purpose [2]. A new church was also gathered at Dorchester, and the reverend Richard Mather was chosen its minister [3].

A warrant was issued to the lord admiral of England, to stop ministers, who did not conform to the discipline and ceremonies of the church, from going beyond sea. By this order, no clergyman was to be suffered to go to the Somer Islands, but such only, as should have the approbation of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London; and all ministers, who had already gone thither, without such approbation, the admiral was to cause to be immediately remanded to England. The severe censure and fines in Star Chamber, and the rigorous impositions of ceremonies, with the suspending and silencing of numerous ministers, for not reading in the church the Book for Sports to be exercised on the Lord's day, caused many people of the English nation to sell their estates, and to embark for New England [4].

John Oldham was murdered in his bark by the Indians near Block Island [5]. The Indians, who perpetrated the murder, were principally Blockislanders, with a number of the Narragansets, to whom these Indians were then subject. Several of the murderers fled to the Pequots, and were protected by them; and they were therefore considered as abettors of the murder [6].

1 Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 15. Mr. Shepard and his people arrived at Boston from England in Oct. 1635. The church was organised, in the presence of a great assembly, 1 February, 1636. Ibid. Winthrop, Journ. 95.

2 Massachusetts Laws. 3 Coll. Hist. Soc. ix. 155.

4 Rushworth, Coll. ii. part ii. 410. Hazard, Coll. i. 420.

5 An island about 20 miles S. S. West of Newport in Rhode Island. In Laet's map of Nova Anglia, &c. it is called *Ad. Block Eyland*; deriving its name probably from a Dutch admiral. Oldham had formerly belonged to Mr. Warham's congregation at Dorchester. Trumbull, i. 63. Hubbard [MS. N. Eng. chap. xvi.] says, he was convicted of being concerned in sending letters to England of complaints against the colony and church of Plymouth, in 1624, and was sentenced to depart from the jurisdiction. He returned, without licence, in 1625, and behaved in such a manner, that he was sent out of the colony, with a passport; and from this time he traded generally with the Indians until his death.

6 Trumbull, i. 63. The Pequots were seated on a fair and navigable river, 12 miles eastward of the mouth of Connecticut river; and were a more fierce, cruel, and warlike people, than the rest of the Indians. Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 14. Their principal sachem Sassacus lived at or near Pequot [New London]; and his tribe could raise 4000 men, fit for war. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 147.

Massachusetts

Massachusetts government therefore judged it expedient to send eighty or ninety men, under the command of John Endicot, of Salem, with commission to treat with the Pequots, and to offer terms of peace, on condition of their surrendering the murderers of the English, and forbearing farther acts of hostility; or else war[1]. On their arrival at the Pequot country, they, by an interpreter, sent a message to the Indians, who, on understanding the proposal, first concealed themselves behind a hill; and soon after ran into the woods and swamps, where pursuit was impracticable[2]. Little was effected by this expedition. One Indian only was slain; and some wigwams were burnt[3].

To prevent the Narraganset Indians from joining the Pequots, and to secure their friendship, Massachusetts sent a solemn embassy to Canonicus, their chief sachem, who, being old, had caused his nephew Miantonimoh to take upon him the government[4]. Miantonimoh, accompanied

1 His instructions were, to proceed to Block Island, and put the men to the sword, and take possession of the island, but to spare the women and children. He was next to sail to the Pequot country, and demand the murderers of Stone, Norton, and their company; and additional satisfaction. When he arrived at Block Island, forty or fifty Indians appeared on the shore, and opposed his landing; but it was effected. After a small skirmish the Indians fled to the woods, and could not be found. The English spent two days on the island, in which time they burnt their wigwams, destroyed their corn, and staved their canoes. They next sailed for the Pequot country. Trumbull, i. 63, 64. Block Island contained, at that time, about 60 wigwams; and the natives had there about 200 acres of corn. Ibid.

2 Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 21, 22.

3 I. Mather, N. Eng. 25. Hubbard, [MS. N. Eng. xxxiv.] says, the Narragansets afterward told the English, that 13 Pequots were killed, and 10 wounded; and that but one of the Block Islanders was slain.

4 The young prince Miantonimoh was of great stature, stern and cruel; "causing all his nobility and attendants to tremble at his speech." The old king, hearing of the English embassy, collected his chief counsellors, and a great number of his people, resolving that the young king should, in his hearing, receive the message. The ambassadors, after being "entertained royally," were admitted to audience in a round state house, about 50 feet in diameter, made of long poles, stuck in the ground, and entirely covered with mats, excepting a small aperture in the middle of the roof, to give light, and let out the smoke. Here sat the sachem, "with very great attendance;" but, when the ambassadors began to deliver their message, he lay extended on a mat, and his nobility sat on the ground with their legs doubled up, their knees touching their chin. At the close of the interpreter's speech, which they heard with great gravity, Miantonimoh replied, that he willingly embraced peace with the English; but the nearness of the Pequots, to whose sudden incursions his people were exposed, rendered it expedient for him to "hold amity with both." The conclusion was an embassy to Boston, which terminated in the treaty of peace. Wonderwork. Providence, 109.

by

by another sachem, two of the sons of Canonicus, and near twenty of his men, went to Boston, and entered into a treaty of peace; the articles of which were: That there should be a firm peace between the Narragansets and the English, and their posterity; that neither party should make peace with the Pequots, without the consent of the other; that they should not harbour the Pequots; and that they should return all fugitive servants, and deliver over to the English, or put to death, all murderers. The English were to give them notice when they were going out against the Pequots; and they were to furnish them with guides; and a free trade was to be maintained between the parties. Cushamakin, the sachem of the Massachusetts, subscribed these articles, with the English[1]. The Narragansets were at this time estimated at five thousand fighting men[2].

At the close of this year, there were about two hundred and fifty men in the three towns on Connecticut river. The whole number of persons is estimated to have been about eight hundred; of families, a hundred and sixty or seventy[3].

1637.

The Pequots were rather emboldened, than intimidated, by Endicot's impotent expedition. In April, they killed six men and three women near Wethersfield, and took two young women captive. They also killed twenty cows, and did other damage to the inhabitants. Alarmed by these atrocities, the Connecticut colonists took vigorous measures for their security. A court was summoned at Hartford; and the towns, for the first time, sent committees, to deliberate on a subject, in which the very existence of the colony was concerned. The court, after mature deliberation, considering that the Pequots had killed nearly thirty of the English[4]; that they had insulted and horribly tortured their captives; that they were attempting to engage all the Indians to unite for the purpose of extirpating the English; and that the whole colony was in imminent danger, unless some capital blow were immediately given to their enemies; determined, that an offensive war should be carried on against them, by the three towns of Windsor, Hartford,

1 Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 27; MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxiv. Trumbull, i. 65.

2 Callender, R. Island, 70. Roger Williams, who was Callender's authority for this article, says, they were so populous, "that a traveller would meet with a dozen Indian towns in 20 miles." Ibid.

3 Trumbull, i. 59.

4 Several were killed at Saybrook and elsewhere. Ibid. 66—70.

ford, and Wethersfield; and voted, that ninety men should be immediately raised; forty-two from Hartford; thirty from Windsor; and eighteen from Wethersfield. The other New England colonies, roused by the apprehension of danger, as well as incited by the request of Connecticut, agreed to send all their forces against the common enemy [1].

On the tenth of May the troops from Connecticut, consisting of ninety Englishmen and about seventy Moheagan and river Indians, fell down the river, in a pink, a pinnace, and a shallop, for the fort at Saybrook. The Indians were commanded by Uncas, sachem of the Moheagans; the entire army, by John Mason, who had been bred a soldier in Europe. Mr. Stone of Hartford went as chaplain [2]. At Saybrook, a council, called to settle a plan of the expedition, agreed to proceed first to Narraganset; to send back twenty men to strengthen the infant settlements on Connecticut river; and to take, in their stead, captain Underhill, with nineteen men from the garrison at Saybrook fort. In pursuance of this plan, Mason proceeded with his troops to Narraganset Bay, where he engaged a large body of Narraganset Indians, as auxiliaries.

The army, consisting of seventy-seven Englishmen, sixty Moheagan and river Indians, and about two hundred Narragansets, marched on the twenty-fourth of May to Niantick, a frontier to the Pequots, and the seat of one of the Narraganset sachems. The next morning a considerable number of Miantonimoh's men, and of the Nianticks, joined the English, who renewed their march, with nearly five hundred Indians. After marching twelve miles to a ford in Pawcatuck river, Mason halted, and refreshed his troops, fainting through heat and scanty provisions. Here many of the Narragansets, astonished to find it his intention, to attack the Pequots in their forts, withdrew, and returned home [3]. Under the guidance of Wequash, a revolted

1 The late governor Trumbull of Connecticut, who was thoroughly acquainted with American history, remarked, that the Pequots were jealous of the new settlements of the English, and plotted their ruin; that they murdered several persons, and committed many outrageous acts, which *gave rise to a just and necessary war*. MS. account of the state and origin of Connecticut, in Mass. Historical Society.

2 Mr. Wilson of Boston was chosen to attend the Massachusetts troops, as chaplain. One of the early laws of N. England was: "Some minister is to be sent forth to go along with the army, for their instruction and encouragement." Abstract of the Laws of N. Eng. chap. x. art. 4.

3 The Pequots had two forts, one at Mistic river; and another, several miles farther distant from the English army, which was the fort of Sassacus,

volted Pequot, the army proceeded in its march toward Mistic river, where was one of the Pequot forts, and, when evening approached, pitched their camp by two large rocks [1]. Two hours before day, the troops were roused to the eventful action, the issue of which was in fearful suspense. After a march of about two miles, they came to the foot of the hill, on the summit of which stood the hostile fort. The day was nearly dawning, and no time might be lost. Mason, throwing the troops into two divisions, pressed forward with one to the eastern, and Underhill with the other, to the western entrance. When Mason drew nigh the fort, a dog barked, and an Indian instantly called out, Owanux! Owanux! [Englishmen! Englishmen!] The troops pressed on, and, having poured a full discharge of their muskets through the palisadoes upon the astonished enemy, entered the fort, sword in hand [2]. A severe conflict ensued. Many of the Indians were slain. Some of the English were killed, others wounded; and the issue of battle was yet dubious. At this critical moment, Mason cried out to his men, "We must burn them." Entering a wigwam at the same instant, he seized a fire brand, and put it into the mats, with which the wigwams were covered; and the combustible habitations were soon wrapped in flames. The English, retiring without the fort, formed a circle around it; and Uncas with his Indians formed another circle in their rear. The devouring fire, and the English weapons, made rapid and awful devastation. In little more than the space of one hour, seventy wigwams were burnt; and, either by the sword or the flames, five or six hundred Indians perished [3]. Of the English, two men were killed, and sixteen wounded.

Soon after the action, about three hundred Indians advanced from the remaining fort; but a chosen band, met them with such warmth, as checked their onset; and encouraged him to order the army to march for Pequot harbour [4]. When this movement began, the Indians advanced to

cus, their chief sachem. The very name of this chief filled the Indians with terror. "Sassacus," said the Narragansets, "is all one God; no man can kill him." Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 39. Trumbull, i. 81. Coll. Hist. Soc. ix. 84.

1 "Between or near" them. These rocks are in Groton, a town near New London, and are called Porter's rocks. Trumbull, i. 76.

2 The entrance was "only barred with two great forked boughs, or branches, of trees." Mason's History.

3 Mason says, 6 or 7 hundred; Dr. Trumbull supposes, about 600.

4 Their vessels had been ordered to sail from Narraganset bay, the night before, for Pequot harbour. When the action at the fort was ended, there

was

to the hill, on which the fort had stood. The sight of its ruins threw them into a transport of rage. They stamped the ground, tore their hair, and, regardless of danger, descended the hill with precipitancy toward the English, whom they pursued nearly six miles, with desperate but impotent revenge. The English reached their vessels in safety; and, in about three weeks from the time of their embarkation at Hartford, they arrived at their habitations, where they were received with every expression of exquisite joy, and pious gratitude.

The body of the Pequots, returning from the pursuit of the English army, repaired to Sassacus at the royal fortress; where, on consultation, it was concluded, that they could not remain longer in the country with safety. Destroying therefore their wigwams and fort, they fled into various parts of the country. Sassacus and seventy or eighty of the chief counsellors and warriors took their route toward Hudson's river.

The governor and council of Massachusetts, on receiving intelligence of this success of the Connecticut troops, judged it needful to send forward but one hundred men [1]. These troops, under the command of captain Stoughton, arriving at Pequot harbour in June, and receiving assistance from the Narraganset Indians, surrounded a large body of Pequots in a swamp, and took eighty captive. The men,

was no appearance of them in the Sound. About an hour after, while the officers were consulting, in deep perplexity, what course to take, the vessels, "as though guided by the hand of Providence" to their relief, appeared fully in view; and, under a fair wind, were steering directly into the harbour. Trumbull, i. 79.

1 Massachusetts colony had determined to send 200 men; and had previously sent forward captain Patrick with 40 men, to form a seasonable junction with the Connecticut troops; but, though these troops, while at Narraganset, had intelligence of Patrick's march, it was judged inexpedient to wait for his arrival. Trumbull, i. 71, 74. The court of Plymouth agreed to send 50 men at the charge of the colony, with as much speed as possible, and provided a bark to carry their provisions, and to attend them on all occasions; but when they were ready to march from Massachusetts, "they had word sent them to stay, for the enemy was as good as vanquished, and there would be no need." Morton, 108. The number, raised by each town in Massachusetts, gives us some idea of the proportion which the several towns bore to each other [Hutchinson, i. 76.]:

Boston	26	Newbury	8
Charlestown	12	Ipswich	17
Roxbury	10	Salem	18
Dorchester	13	Saugus [Lynn]	16
Weymouth	5	Watertown	14
Hingham	6	Newtown	19
Medford	8	Marblehead	8

thirty in number, were killed, but the women and children were saved. Forty men, raised by Connecticut, and put under the command of the heroic Mason, made a junction with Stoughton's company at Pequot. While the vessels sailed along the shore, these allied troops pursued the fugitive Indians by land, to Quinnipiack, and found some scattering Pequots on their march. Receiving information at Quinnipiack, that the enemy were a considerable distance westward, in a great swamp, they marched in that direction, with all possible dispatch, about twenty miles, and came to the swamp [1], where were eighty or a hundred warriors, and nearly two hundred other Indians. Some of the English, rushing eagerly forward, were badly wounded; and others, sinking into the mire, were rescued by a few of their brave companions, who sprang forward to their relief with drawn swords. Some Indians were slain; others, finding the whole swamp surrounded, desired a parley; and, on the offer of life, about two hundred old men, women, and children, among whom was the sachem of the place, gradually came out, and submitted to the English. The Pequot warriors, indignantly spurning submission, renewed the action, which, as far as it was practicable, was kept up through the night. A thick fog, the next morning, favouring the escape of the enemy; many of them, among whom were sixty or seventy warriors, broke through the surrounding troops. About twenty were killed, and one hundred and eighty captivated. The captives were divided between Connecticut and Massachusetts, which distributed them among the Moheagans and Narragansets [2]. Sassacus, the chief sachem, fled with about twenty of his best men to the Mohawks, who, at the request of the Narragansets, cut off his head; and his country now became a province of the English [3].

A

1 Near where Fairfield or Stratford now stands. Hubbard.

2 It was judged, that, during the summer, 700 Pequots were destroyed, among whom were 13 sachems. About 200, beside women and children, survived the Swamp Fight. Of this number the English gave 80 to Miantonimoh, and 20 to Ninnigret, two sachems of Narraganset; and the other 100 to Uncas, sachem of the Moheagans; to be received and treated as their men. This division was made at Hartford in September 1638; at which time, among other articles it was covenanted, That the Pequots should never again inhabit their native country, nor be called Pequots, but Narragansetts and Moheagans. Trumbull, i. 85—87. A number of the male children were sent to Bermudas. Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 54. Hutchinson, i. 80. Gov. Winthrop [Journ. 134.] says, "We had now slain and taken in all about 700. We sent 15 of the boys and two women to Bermuda, by Mr. Pierce, but he missing it, carried them to Providence Isle."

3 Winthrop, Journ. A. D. 1637. Morton, 107—114. Hubbard, Ind. Wars,

A proclamation was issued in April by the king of England, to restrain the disorderly transportation of his subjects to the American colonies. It commanded, that no licence be given them, without a certificate, that they had taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and comformed to the discipline of the church of England [1]. To give effect to this arbitrary measure, an ordinance was passed, which enacted, that none should entertain any stranger, who should arrive in the colonies with an intention to reside; or allow the use of any habitation, without liberty from the standing council [2]. On complaint of several disorders in New England, the king in July appointed Sir Ferdinando Gorges general governor; but the measure was never carried into effect [3].

Ann Hutchinson, a woman of familistic principles in Boston, holding lectures for the propagation of peculiar tenets, attracted a numerous auditory, and gained many adherents. The whole colony became divided into two parties, which stiled each other Antinomians and Legalists. Such was the warmth of the controversy, that a synod was judged expedient to settle it. A synod was accordingly convened at Newtown, composed of all the teaching elders in the country, and messengers of the several churches [4]. After a session of three weeks, the synod condemned eighty-two erroneous opinions, which had become disseminated in New England. This was the first synod, holden in America [5].

The

Wars, 36—54. I. Mather, Troubles with the Indians, 25, 26, 47, 48, 50. Trumbull, i, 66—87. Hutchinson, i. 76—80. However just the occasion of this war, humanity demands a tear on the extinction or a valiant tribe, which preferred death to what it might naturally anticipate from the progress of the English settlements—dependence, or extirpation.

"Indulge, my native land! indulge the tear,
That steals, impassion'd, o'er a nation's doom;
To me each twig, from Adam's stock, is near,
And sorrows fall upon an Indian's tomb."

Dwight's Greenfield Hill, Part IV. entitled, "The Destruction of the Pequods."

1 Hazard, Coll. i. 421, where the proclamation is entire. Chalmers, i. 161.

2 Chalmers, i. 165; "enacted with a signal folly." Ib.

3 Chalmers, i. 162. Belknap, Biog. i. 385. This failure is thus accounted for. The troubles in England and Scotland checked the business for the present; and, soon after, archbishop Laud and some other lords of council, who had been zealous for the measure, lost their authority. Ibid.

4 The magistrates were also present, and were not hearers only, "but speakers also, as they thought fit."

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xl. Winthrop, Journ. 137—140. Hutchinson, i. 66—69. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 16, 17. The church of Boston soon

The government of Massachusetts, apprehending a breach of peace from the Familists, caused fifty-eight persons in Boston to be disarmed, and several towns of Salem, Newbury, Roxbury, Ipswich, and Charlestown [1]. It also passed a law, that none should be received, to inhabit within the jurisdiction, but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates [2].

Samuel Gorton, of the familistic sect, giving great disturbance in New England, was banished from the colonies of Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts [3].

The town of Dedham began to be built; and here a church was soon gathered [4]. Mr. Jones was ordained pastor, and Mr. Bulkley teacher, of the church in Concord [5].

Ten years had now elapsed since the commencement of the settlement of Massachusetts. During this period, ninety-four ministers came from England; of this number twenty-seven had returned; thirty-six had died; and thirty-one were yet living in the country. The number of ships, which, during this period, transported passengers to New England, was estimated to be two hundred and ninety-eight; and the number of men, women, and children, twenty-one thousand two hundred [6].

after, "with one consent," agreed to pass the sentence of excommunication on Mrs. Hutchinson, "for many evils in her conversation, as well as for corrupt opinions." Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxix. Mr. Hutchinson, her husband, being one of the purchasers of Aquetneck, sold his estate in Massachusetts, and removed with his family to that island. On his death (about 1642), Mrs. Hutchinson, being dissatisfied with the people or place, removed to the Dutch country beyond New Haven; and, the year after, she and all her family, consisting of 16 persons, were killed by the Indians, with the exception of one daughter, whom they carried into captivity. Hutchinson, i. 72.

1 Wonderwork. Prov. 121. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxviii.

2 Minot, Mass. i. 29.

3 Josselyn, Voy. 259. Josselyn calls him "a blasphemous atheist;" and Hubbard styles him "a prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties, even the very dregs of familism." MS. N. Eng. xlvii, where there is a distinct account of the troubles, occasioned by Gorton and his adherents to Massachusetts.

4 Wonderwork. Prov. 125. Winthrop [Journ. 163.] says, it was gathered 9 Nov. 1638.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxvii.

6 Josselyn, Voy. 258, and N. Eng. Rar. 108. This article, though it has been quoted by respectable authority, and may be substantially true, is neither stated with precision, nor with confidence. The language of Josselyn is, "in the ten first years *chiefly*;" and (in reference to the number of emigrants) "as near as can be *guessed*." Some writer, whose name I have lost, affirms, that "by an exact computation, 4000 planters had now come out of England; in all the four grand settlements." See Hutchinson, i. 93.

M. de

M. de Enambuc, the father of the French colony at St. Christopher's, brought from that island to Martinico a hundred soldiers, all of them well provided for forming a colony. Landing at Basse Terre, he built a fort, called St. Peter, and made the first settlement on the island [1].

John Davenport, a celebrated minister of Coleman Street in London, accompanied by Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins, merchants of London, with several other respectable persons from that city and its vicinity, arrived this summer at Boston. The unmolested enjoyment of civil and religious liberty was the object of their emigration. Not finding in Massachusetts sufficient room for themselves and the numerous friends, whom they expected to follow them, and being informed of a large bay to the southwest of Connecticut river, commodious for trade, they applied to their friends in Connecticut to purchase for them, of the native proprietors, all the lands, lying between the rivers Connecticut and Hudson; and this purchase they, in part, effected. In the autumn, Mr. Eaton and some others of the company made a journey to Connecticut, to explore the land and harbours on the sea coast; and pitched upon Quinnipiack for the place of their settlement. Here they erected a hut, and remained through the winter.

1638.

The way being prepared, Davenport, Eaton, and the rest of their compahy, sailed from Boston for Quinnipiack; and, in about a fortnight, arrived at the desired port. On the eighteenth of April they kept their first sabbath in the place, under a large spreading oak; where Mr. Davenport preached to them. Soon after, they entered into what they termed a plantation covenant [2]. Determined to make an extensive settlement, these enterprising colonists paid early attention to the making of such purchases and treaties, as would give it stability. In November, they entered into an agreement with Manauguin, sachem of that part of the country, and his counsellors, for the lands of Quinnipiack. Monauguin, in consideration of being protected by the English from the

1 Univ. Hist. xli. 228. He died soon after; and his colleague, Sir Thomas Warner, did not long survive him. At the time of his death, St. Christopher's is said to have contained twelve or thirteen thousand English inhabitants, Ibid. 271. Several historians, I *now* find, place this article in 1635.

2 By this covenant they solemnly engaged, that in the gathering and ordering of a church, and in all public offices, relating to civil order, they would be guided by the rules of Scripture. Trumbull, i. 91.

hostile Indians, yielded up all his right and title to all the land of Quinnipiack, of which he was the sole sachem, to Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, and others, their heirs and assigns for ever; and they, in return, covenanted, that they would protect him and his Indians; that they should always have a sufficient quantity of land to plant, on the east side of the harbour; and, by way of free and grateful retribution, they gave him, his council, and company, twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchymy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen of knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissars. In December, they made another purchase of a large tract, lying principally north of the other, extending eight miles east of the river Quinnipiack, and five miles west of it toward Hudson's river [1]. Near the bay of Quinnipiack they laid out their town in squares, on the plan of a spacious city; and called it New Haven. This town was the foundation of a flourishing colony of the same name, of which it became also the capital [2].

Kieft, the Dutch governor of New Netherlands, protested against this plantation; but his protest was disregarded, because unsupported [3].

The religious differences in Massachusetts were, in the mean time, giving rise to a distinct colony, in another direction. John Clark and some others, finding the decisions of the synod supported by the general court, went to Providence, in search of a place, where they might have peace, and liberty of conscience. By the advice and aid of Roger Williams, they purchased Aquetneck [4] of the Indian sachems; and the natives of that Island soon after agreed, on

1 This tract was purchased of Montowese, son of the great sachem at Mattabeseck; and was 10 miles in length, north and south, and 13 miles in breadth. It included all the lands within the ancient limits of the old towns of New Haven, Branford, and Wallingford; and almost the whole within the limits of those towns, and of the more modern towns of East Haven, Woodbridge, Cheshire, Hamden, and North Haven. For this tract the English gave 13 coats, and allowed the natives ground to plant, and liberty to hunt within the lands. Trumbull, i. 93, 94, from N. Haven Records.

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlii. Winthrop, Journ. 131, 151. Mather, Magnal. book i. 25. Trumbull, i. 89—94. Hutchinson, i. 83. Chalmers, i. 290.

3 Chalmers, i. 571. Smith, N. York, 3.

4 Other islands in Narragansetts bay were sold at this time. Aquetneck was the largest of them. Canonicus, chief sachem of Narraganset and Niantick, and Miantonimoh, sold them to William Coddington and his associates, in consideration of fifty fathom of white beads. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlii. Hutchinson, i. 72. Chalmers, i. 271.

receiving

receiving ten coats and twenty hoes, to remove before the next winter. The adventurers, to the number of eighteen, incorporated themselves into a body politic, and chose William Coddington to be their judge, or chief magistrate [1]. Small as the number of associates was; the fertility of the soil, and the pleasantness of the climate, soon attracted many people to their settlement; and the island, in a few years, became so populous, as to send out colonists to the adjacent shores. The island was afterward named the Isle of Rhodes; and, by an easy declension, Rhode Island [2].

Canonicus and Miantonimoh gave Roger Williams a deed of Providence [3].

A *quo warranto* having been brought by the attorney general against the governor, deputy, and assistants of the corporation of Massachusetts [4], and judgment being given, that the liberties and franchises should be seized into the king's hand; the council made an order, requiring the patent of Massachusetts to be sent back, by the next ship, to England [5]. Judgment not having been entered against the charter, there was a delay of compliance with the order of council. Meanwhile, the general court of Massachusetts addressed a petition on this subject to the lords commissioners for foreign plantations, vindicating the cause of the colony with firmness, and supplicating relief with tenderness [6].

Arbitrary measures were still pursued in England, in reference to the American colonies. An order was given by the privy council in May to the lord treasurer to take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships, then in the Thames, prepared to sail for New England. By this order, Oliver Cromwell, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, John Hambden, and other patriots, were prevented from coming to Ame-

1 Callender, 30—32, where are the names of the 18 associates. Their association, according to Callender, preceded the completion of the purchase. They united in a body politic 7 March, the sachems signed the deed 24 March, 1638. Ibid. Toward the close of the year, they chose three persons, as assistants to their chief magistrate. Ib. 42.

2 Chalmers, i. 271.

3 Dated 24 March. Backus, N. Eng. i. 89. Brit. Emp. ii. 130.

4 Hazard, Coll. i. 423, where it is inserted. Hubbard, [MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxvi.] says, that the business of demanding the patent of Massachusetts had been on hand ever since the year 1634; but it had been overlooked, by the interposition possibly of matters of great moment, until this year.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxvi. Chalmers, i. 161. Hutchinson, Col. 105.

6 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxvi; Hazard, Coll. i. 435, 436; where the Petition is entire.

rica.

rica [1]. How limited the foresight of man; how inscrutable the counsels of God! By this arbitrary measure, Charles, "far from suspecting, that the future revolutions in his kingdoms were to be excited and directed by persons in such a humble sphere of life, forcibly detained the men destined to overturn his throne, and to terminate his days by a violent death [2]."

Scarcely had the venerable founders of New England felled the trees of the forest, when they began to provide means to insure the stability of their colony. Learning and Religion they wisely judged to be the firmest pillars of the church and commonwealth. The legislature of Massachusetts, having previously founded a school or college, had the last year (1637) ordered, that it be at Newtown; and appointed a committee [3] to carry the order into effect. The liberality of an individual now essentially contributed to the completion of this wise and pious design. John Harvard, a worthy minister, dying this year at Charlestown, left a legacy of seven hundred and seventy-nine pounds, seventeen shillings, and two pence, to the public school at Newtown. In honour of that generous benefactor, this collegiate school was soon after, by an order of court, named Harvard College; and Newtown, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place where many of the first settlers of New England received their education, was called Cambridge [4].

Several gentlemen in Boston and its vicinity, having formed themselves into a military company, petitioned to be incorporated. The council, adverting to the examples of the pretorian bands among the Romans, and the templars in Europe, was cautious of erecting a standing authority of military men, who might ultimately controul the civil

1 Hazard Coll. i. 422, where is a copy of the Proclamation. Mather, Magnal. book i. 23. Chalmers, i. 160, 161. Belknap, Biog. ii. 229. Neal, N. Eng i. 168.

2 Robertson, book x. 163.

3 Governor Winthrop, deputy governor Dudley, treasurer Bellingham; Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Harlackenden, and Mr. Stoughton, counsellors; Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Wells, Mr. Shephard, and Mr. Peters, minister. MS. Records of Massachusetts.

4 MS. Records of Massachusetts. Winthrop, Journ. 155. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxii. There were several benefactors to this college, beside Mr. Harvard; and "the other colonies sent some small help to the undertaking." Mather, Magnal. book iv. 126. The primary object of this institution was, to furnish a succession of learned and able ministers. Ibid. By Massachusetts Records it appears, that the court gave it the name of HARVARD in 1639; but the name of Newtown was altered by the court in May 1638.

power,

power. The patriotic associates however were allowed to be a company, but subordinate to the authority of the country [1]. This is the origin of the company, distinguished in the military annals of Massachesetts by the merited name of The Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company.

John Wheelwright, who had been banished from Massachusetts, went, accompanied by a number of people from Braintree, to New Hampshire, where he laid the foundation of the town and church of Exeter [2]. The inhabitants of Pascataqua attempted, about this time, to gather themselves into a church state; but, through dissensions, they appear not to have succeeded in the design [3]. Josselyn, whom we have quoted as an original authority, made his first voyage to New England this year [4]. Boston at this time was "rather a village, than a town;" consisting of no more than twenty or thirty houses [5].

There was a great earthquake in New England on the first day of June. The earth shook with such violence, that, in some places, the people could not stand, without difficulty, in the streets; and most moveable articles in their houses were thrown down. This phenomenon formed a memorable epoch in the annals of New England [6]. About

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxiii.

2 Hutchinson, i. 106. Pres. Stiles MSS. The next year (1639) 35 persons, settlers of Exeter, entered into a combination, and erected a civil government. The reason, which they assign for the measure, is: "Considering with ourselves the holy will of God and our own necessity, that we should not live without wholsom Lawes and Civil Government among us, of which we are altogether destitute." The Constitution, with the names of the 35 signers is in Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxi, and Hazard, Coll. i. 463. Their rulers were Isaac Grosse, Nicholas Needham, and Thomas Wilson; each of whom continued in office one year, having two assistants. The laws were made in a popular assembly, and formally consented to by the rulers. This combination subsisted three years. Belknap, N. Hamp. i. 37. It was a few miles only beyond the north eastern boundary of Massachusetts, amid the forest, which then skirted the shore of the great bay of Pascataqua, that Exeter was planted. Chalmers, i. 475.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxi. Hubbard says, "they fell into factions, and strange confusions."

4 Josselyn, Voy. 20. It is a curious fact, that Josselyn brought "from Francis Quarles the poet," the translation of several Psalms "into English metre," and delivered them to Mr. Cotton, minister of Boston, "for his approbation." Ibid.

5 Ibid. 173. There were two licensed inns then in Boston. "An officer visits them," says Josselyn, whenever a stranger goes into them; and "if he calls for more drink than the officer thinks in his judgment he can soberly bear away," he countermands it, and "appoints the proportion beyond which he cannot get one drop." Ibid.

6 Winthrop, Journ. 155. It occurred between the hours of three and four P. M. The weather was clear and warm, and the wind westerly. "It came

About one hundred and thirty freemen were added to Massachusetts; and there arrived this summer twenty ships, with at least three hundred persons [1].

The first New England built ship arrived in the Thames [2].

Uncas, sachem of the Moheagans, having given umbrage by entertaining some of the hostile Pequots, went to Boston in June, with a present to the governor of Massachusetts; promised submission to the English; and was ever afterward faithful to their interests [3]. In September, articles of agreement were made between him and the colonists of Connecticut [4].

The government of Plymouth colony caused three Englishmen to be put to death, for the murder of an Indian near Providence [5].

A Swedish factory, conducted by Minuitz, having reared habitations for shelter on the eastern banks of the Delaware, near its confluence; Kieft, the governor of New Netherlands, transmitted a remonstrance against the proceeding; laying claim to the whole South river, as the property of the Dutch. Minuitz however retained possession [6].

The assembly of Maryland prepared a collection of regulations. The province was divided into baronies and manors, the privileges of which were carefully regulated. Bills were passed for settling the glebe; for the liberties of

came with a noise like a continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone." It was felt at Massachusetts, Connecticut, Narraganset, Pascataqua, and the circumjacent parts. It shook the ships, which rode in Boston harbour, and all the islands. "The noise and the shaking continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet 20 days after by times." Ibid. Josselyn, N. Eng. Rar. 109. Hutchinson, i. 90. Trumbull, i. 92. Professor Winthrop, Lect. on Earthquakes, 16. Memoirs Americ. Acad. i. 262. Brit. Emp. i. 270.

1 Winthrop, Journ. 156.

2 Pemberton, MS.

3 Winthrop, Journ. 155. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxiv; Ind. Wars, 40, 41. In 1640 he conveyed his lands to Connecticut.

4 Gov. Trumbull, MS. State and Origin of Connecticut.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxxvi. Morton, 120, 121.

6 Chalmers, i. 571, 572, 581. Kieft asserted, "that the whole South river of New Netherlands had been in the Dutch possession many years, above and below beset with forts, and sealed with their blood." Disputes arose. A bloodless war ensued. The Dutch dictated the terms of peace. At the treaty of Stockholm, in 1640, "Sweden and Holland prudently passed over in silence colonial squabbles, and American territory; for the pretentions of neither party could have been supported by fair and accurate discussions." Chalmers, ibid. Smith, N. York, 3, 4. *South* river was the Dutch name of the *Delaware*; *North* river, the name of the *Hudson*: In the Dutch language *Zuyd rivier*, and *Noordt rivier*. See Ruet's map at p. 62.

the

the people; for swearing allegiance to their sovereign; and for securing titles to their estates. The law for civil causes and for crimes was ascertained. Laws were passed for the payment of tobacco, and for the planting of corn; and various other regulations of domestic economy and of commerce were established [1]. The acts of this assembly are the first, of which any record appears in the province [2].

The English at St. Lucia were surprized, in the night, by the Caribbean Indians; and almost all were killed in their beds. A few escaped to Montserrat [3].

The Spaniards attacked a small English colony, which had taken possession of the little unoccupied island of Tortuga, and put every man, woman, and child to death. They even hanged such, as came in and surrendered themselves, on the promise of mercy, after the attack [4].

M. Poincy attempted to make a settlement at Grenada; but was driven off by the Caribbeans [5].

1639.

The inhabitants of the three towns on Connecticut river, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, finding themselves without the limits of the Massachusetts patent, conceived the plan of forming themselves, by voluntary compact, into a distinct commonwealth. All the free planters convened at Hartford on the fourteenth of January; and, after mature deliberation, adopted a constitution of government. This constitution had been thought, by the judicious, to be one of the most free and happy constitutions of civil government, that has ever been formed. The formation of it, at so early a period, "when the light of liberty was wholly darkened in most parts of the earth, and the rights of men were so little understood in others," does great honour to the intelligent colonists, who framed it. It has continued, with little alteration, to the present time; and the happy consequences of

1 Chalmers, i. 211.

2 Ibid. 232. It was from the Virginia Papers in England, that notice was obtained of the proceedings of an assembly, holden at St. Mary's in 1635. Ibid.

3 Univ. Hist. xli. 215.

4 Edwards, W. Indies, i. 139. Univ. Hist. [xli. 516,] instead of an "English colony," says, "the freebooters of all nations, who had settled on the island of Tortuga."

5 Univ. Hist. xli. 225.

it,

it, which, for more than a century and a half, the people of Connecticut have experienced, exceed description [1].

Agreeably to the constitution, the freemen convened at Hartford in April, and elected their officers for the ensuing year. John Haynes was chosen governor; and Roger Ludlow, deputy governor [2]. The general assembly proceeded gradually to enact a system of laws. The first statute in the code of Connecticut is a declaration or bill of rights [3].

The planters of Quinnipiack had continued more than a year without any other constitution, than their plantation covenant. Having received a respectable accession to their number, by the arrival of the reverend Henry Whitfield, William Leet, esquire, and others [4], they were now prepared for a more systematic combination. All the free planters in the settlement convened on the fourth of June, and proceeded to lay the foundations of their civil and religious polity [5]. Among other resolutions, they resolved, that they would all be governed by the rules of scripture. Having bound themselves to settle civil government according to the divine word, they determined, that church members only should be free burgesses; and that they only should choose magistrates, and have power to transact all the civil affairs of the plantation. They also resolved, that twelve

1 Trumbull, i. 95—98, where is a sketch of this constitution; in Hazard, Coll. i. 437—441, it is entire. Though dated 14 January, 1638, its true date, according to the *present* reckoning, is in the year *1639*. The constitution decreed, that there shall be yearly two General Assemblies, or Courts; that at the first, called the Court of Election, shall be yearly chosen so many magistrates and other public officers, as shall be found requisite, one of which to be chosen governor for the year ensuing, and no other magistrate to be chosen for more than one year, provided there be six chosen beside the governor, who being chosen and sworn according to an oath recorded for that purpose, shall have power to administer justice according to the law here established, and for want thereof according to the rule of the Word of God. That choice was to be made by all the freemen who had taken the oath of fidelity, and did "cohabit within this jurisdiction." No person might be chosen governor more than once in two years. The towns were to send their deputies to the two courts, and these were empowered to make laws, and to do any other public business, "which concerned the good of the commonwealth." See also Trumbull, i. Appendix No. III.

2 Roger Ludlow, George Wyllys, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Welles, John Webster, and William Phelps, where chosen magistrates; and the first of the six was chosen deputy governor.

3 Trumbull, i. 98, where are the names of the first *deputies*.

They were a part of Mr. Davenport and Eaton's company; and were principally from Kent and Surrey, in the vicinity of London. Ibid. 99.

5 This convention was holden in a large barn of Mr. Newman's. Ib.

men

men [1] should be chosen, who should be empowered to choose seven, to begin the church. After a proper term of trial, seven men were chosen for the seven pillars. The court, consisting of those seven persons only, convened on the twenty-fifth of October; and, after a solemn address to the Supreme Being, proceeded to form the body of freemen, and to elect civil officers. Theophilus Eaton was chosen governor; and to him, at the close of the election, Mr. Davenport gave a charge in open court. The freemen now decreed, that there should be a general court annually in the plantation [2].

The reverend Peter Prudden, with a company from Wethersfield, purchased Wopowage of the natives, and there commenced a settlement, which was afterward called Milford. A church was gathered there on the twenty-second of August. In the first town meeting, the number of free planters, or church members, was forty-four. The Indians at this place were so numerous, that the English judged it necessary to enclose and fortify the town [3].

Some of the first adventurers, who came to Quinnipiack, purchased Menunkatuck of the natives on the twenty-ninth of September; and, in commemoration of the place in Surrey, from which they chiefly emigrated, called it Guilford. As soon as their purchase was completed, they removed from New Haven, and settled there. Mr. Henry Whitfield led forth this little flock into the wilderness, and was its first pastor. William Leet, than a young man, afterward governor of New Haven, accompanied the settlers to Guildford [4].

Cup-

1 The persons, chosen for trial, from whom the 7 pillars were selected, were, * Theophilus Eaton, * John Davenport, * Robert Newman, * Matthew Gilbert, Richard Malbon, Nathaniel Turner, Ezekiel Cheevers, * Thomas Fugill, * John Punderson, William Andrews, and * Jeremiah Dixon. N. Haven MS. Records. This fundamental agreement was signed by 63 persons 4 June; and there were soon after added about 50 other names. Ibid. 101.

2 N. Haven Records in Pres. Stiles' Itinerary. Trumbull, i. 99—102.

3 Trumbull, i. 103, 104, 298. Hubbard [MS. N. Eng. chap. xlii.] says, the company of settlers was from Hartford and its vicinity. Mr. Prudden was installed their pastor 18 April, 1640. Trumbull.

4 Rev. Thomas Ruggles, MS. Hist. of Guilford in Pres. Stiles' MS. Coll. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlii. Trumbull, i. 103. It was "almost winter" when these resolute people removed. They now chose four of the principal planters for civil government, "whose power was to continue until the church was formed, or rather appeared in form, when their power was to end. So soon as their wilderness state would admit,"

Cupheag and Pughquonnuck were purchased of the natives; and a settlement was begun at Cupheag, since named Stratford [1].

George Fenwick, a gentleman of great estate, and eminent for wisdom and piety, arriving from England with his lady and family, laid the foundation of the town of Saybrook at the mouth of Connecticut river [2].

Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained of the crown a distinct charter in confirmation of his own grant, of all the land from Pascataqua to Sagadahock, styled The province of Maine. Of this province he was made lord Palatine, with the same powers and privileges, as the bishop of Durham, in the county Palatine of Durham. In virtue of these powers, he constituted a government within his province; and incorporated the plantation at Agamenticus into a city, by the name of Gorgeana, which, with a lofty name, was but an inconsiderable village. The province did not flourish [3].

Rowley, in Massachusetts, was settled by about sixty industrious and pious families from Yorkshire, under the guidance of Ezekiel Rogers, an eminent minister. These set-

in April 1643, "they formed themselves into a Congregational church;" when "the purchasers of the lands, and those persons in whose hands the civil power had been intrusted, did actually in a formal manner in writing resign all their rights and authority unto the church." In imitation of Mr. Davenport's proceedure, the church was formed by covenant on seven pillars. Ruggles, MS. Hist. ut supra. Mr. Whitfield was a well bred man, a good scholar, a great divine, an excellent preacher; and he was the father of the plantation. Previously to his departure from England, he enjoyed one of the best church livings at Okely, in the county of Surrey, beside a large personal estate. After continuing eleven years in the ministry at Guilford, he returned in 1650, during the protectorate of Cromwell, to his native country. A large handsome stone house, built at Guilford at his own expence, and "which served as a fort for himself and many of the inhabitants," was seen standing by President Stiles, who visited it in 1768. Ibid. Trumbull, i. 309. See Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 182—188, where Mr. Ruggles' History of Guilford is preserved. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 217, 218.

1 Trumbull, i. 105. Pughquonnuck was the western part of the purchase, bordering on Fairfield. Ibid.

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxvii. His lady died soon after their arrival. I was informed at Saybrook in 1803, that she was buried near the margin of the river; and that her monument was in recent remembrance, though but small, if any, remains of it were yet visible.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xv. xxxi. Belknap, Biog. i. 385—388. Sullivan, 71. Brit. Emp. ii. 3. The confirmatory grant is in Hazard. Coll. i. 442—456. The name of the Province was given in compliment to the queen of Charles I. who owed, as his private estate in France, the Province of Meyne. Sullivan, 307.

tlers,

tlers, many of whom had been clothiers in England, built a fulling mill; employed their children in spinning cotton wool; and were the first who attempted to make cloth in North America 1.

A settlement was begun on the north side of Merimac, and called Salisbury; another at Winicowet, and called Hampton. Yarmouth and Barnstable 2, in Plymouth colony, were settled 3. A church was gathered at Braintree, of which Mr. Thompson, a pious and learned minister from Lancashire, soon after became its pastor; and Henry Flint, a man of similar piety, its teacher 4.

There were now two regiments in Massachusetts; which were mustered at Boston, to the number of one thousand soldiers 5. About eighty-three freemen were added to the colony this year 6. The church in Boston was sold by the proprietors; and another was erected near the market place 7.

The first printing press in North America was set up this year at Cambridge 8.

The legislature of Massachusetts passed an act to free from all duties and public taxes all estates, employed in catching, making, or transporting fish. All fishermen, during the season for business, and all ship builders were, by the same act, excused from trainings. Sumptuary laws were also

1 Wonderwork. Prov. 130; Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxii. This article is there put in 1638; but Winthrop [Journ. 175.] puts it in 1639. Mo. 2.

2 The church at Scituate was in a broken condition several years. The Rev. John Lothrop, with part of that church, removed to Cape Cod, and settled at Barnstable, 11 October, 1639. Lothrop's MS. Records, and President Stiles' MSS.

3 Winthrop, Journ. 172, 183. It appears by gov. Winthrop, (ibid.) that SUDBURY was likewise settled in 1639.

4 Winthrop, Journ. 188. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxvii. "Mount Wollaston [Braintree] had been formerly laid to Boston." It was given to that place "for upholding the town and church there." The inhabitants of Boston, who had taken their farms and lots at Mount Wollaston, desired to gather a church there in 1636; but the measure was then opposed at Boston, lest, "by the removal of so many chief men as would go thither," the original design should be frustrated. Winthrop, ib. 107, 187.

5 Winthrop, Journal, 176.

6 Wonderwork. Prov. 134.

7 Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 257. The old one was "out of repair and too small." Ibid. The new one cost about 1000 *l.* which were raised out of the weekly voluntarily contribution. Winthrop, Journ. 217.

8 Winthrop, Journ. 171. It "was began by one Daye at the charge of Mr. Glover," who died on his passage to America, "The first thing, which was printed, was the freeman's oath; the next was an almanack, made for New England by Mr. Pierce, mariner; the next was the Psalms, newly turned into metre." Ibid. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 19.

made for restraining excess in apparel, and other expences [1].

The commission of governor Harvey was revoked in the beginning of this year; and Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor of Virginia. The king's instructions to the new governor evince a prodigious change in colonial policy. While preparations were making in England and Scotland for civil war, there were given to the wishes of the Virginians, a provincial legislature, a regular administration of justice, a government of laws [2].

The legislature of Maryland passed an act "for establishing the house of assembly." It enacted, that those, who should be elected pursuant to writs issued, should be called burgesses, and should supply the place of the freemen who chose them, in the same manner, and to the same intents, as the representatives in the parliament of England; that the gentlemen, summoned by the special writ of the proprietary, and those freemen, who should not have voted at any of the elections, together with the governor and secretary, should be called, The House of Assembly; and that all acts, assented to by that body, should be deemed of the same force, as if the proprietary and freemen had been personally present. The assembly, thus formed, passed what seems to have been intended for a code of laws, until a complete system of provincial jurisprudence could be established [3].

Inconsiderable, at this early period, must have been the numbers, wealth, and power of Maryland; for a general contribution was thought necessary, to erect a watermill for the use of the colony. Slavery seems to have rooted in Maryland with its original settlement; for an act of the new assembly describes "the people," as consisting of all Christian inhabitants, "slaves only excepted [4]."

A nunnery of French Ursulins was founded at Quebec. Madame de la Peltrie, a pious Catholic lady, devoting her person and fortune to this religious design, went to Quebec with three Ursulins, attended by le Jeune, superior of the Jesuit mission in Canada. Entering the city under a general discharge of cannon, they proceeded in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people, to the church, where *Te Deum* was solemnly sung for their arrival [5].

1640.

1 Hutchinson, i. 92.

2 Chalmers, i. 119, 120. Gov. Harvey's Commission, given in 1636, is in Rymer's Fœd. xx. 3. and Hazard, Coll. i. 400—403.

3 Chalmers, i. 213.

4 Chalmers, i. 214, 215.

5 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 206—209. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 428, 429. Charlevoix (ibid.) says, that M. de la Peltrie had such zeal for the con-

1640.

An attempt was made in the English parliament to establish once more over Virginia the government of the ancient corporation, and thus to annul the charter of Maryland, but it was vigorously opposed by the Virginian assembly, and the measure was relinquished [1].

Opechancanough, an Indian emperor in Virginia, being dead [2], governor Berkeley made a firm and lasting peace with the natives [3].

Among other useful laws, now passed by the assembly of Maryland, was its inspection law, which established many salutary regulations for the improvement of the staple of the colony, and for the protection of purchasers from frauds [4].

Several of the inhabitants of Lynn, finding themselves straitened for land, went to Long Island in search of a new plantation; and agreed with lord Stirling's agent there for a tract of land near the west end of the island, and with the natives for their right. The Dutch at New Netherlands, hearing of these contracts, sent men to take possession of the place, and to set up the arms of the prince of Orange. Ten or twelve of the English company, beginning soon after to erect buildings, took down the prince's arms; in the place of which an Indian drew an ugly face. Provoked by this indignity, the Dutch sent soldiers, who brought off the Englishmen, and imprisoned them; but after a few days, having taken an oath of them, they set them at liberty. The adventurers now removed to the east end of the island: where, to the number of forty families, they settled the town of Southampton. Inviting Mr. Pierson, a man of learning and piety, to be their minister, he and several of

conversion and comfort of the Canadian natives, that she cultivated the earth with her own hands, to increase her power to promote their benefit. The hospital, called de l' Hotel Dieu, was founded the preceding year at Sileri, by M. la Duchesse d' Aiguillon. Ibid. Mrs. Ann Winslow, a respectable lady, who resided several years in Canada, informs me, that both these institutions are now in a flourishing state, especially the Hotel Dieu.

1 Chalmers, i. 215. The reason assigned for the opposition of Virginia is: This "ancient dominion had now learned from experience, that more liberty was enjoyed under any form, than beneath the rule of a commercial company." Ibid.

2 While a prisoner in the hands of the governor, he was shot by an English soldier. Keith, 146.

3 Ibid.

4 Chalmers, i. 216.

the company formed themselves into a church at Lynn before their departure; and the whole company, with the advice of some of the magistrates of Massachusetts, erected themselves into a civil government [1].

The inhabitants of Providence, to the number of forty persons, combined in civil government, according to their own model [2]. Some of the Providence people began a plantation at Patuxet, comprehended in their grant [3].

The settlers on the north side of Pascataqna river already experiencing serious inconveniences, and apprehensive of greater, for the want of civil government, formed a government of their own, independent of the proprietary lords [4]. The oldest record of New Hampshire is dated this year [5].

The first general court in the province of Maine was holden at Saco [6].

The general court of Maasachusetts gave liberty for two new plantations; one of which was called Haverhill; the other, Andover [7]. It also granted the income of the ferry between Boston and Charlestown as a perpetual revenue to Harvard college [8]. It made provision for a public registry [9]. It prohibited the use of tobacco [10].

The magistrates with the ministers of Massachusetts chose the reverend Henry Dunster, to be president of Harvard college [11].

After a long time recess, the parliament assembled; and persecution was stopped. On the change of affairs in England, emigration ceased. Several of the most considerable colonists, and many of the ministers in New England, now returned to their native country [12].

The

1 Winthrop, Journ. 201. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxiii. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 95. Neal, N. Eng. i. 208.

2 Callender, 43. Douglass, ii. 78.

3 Callender, 35. Adams, N. Eng. 63.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxi, where is a copy of the compact.

5 Chalmers, i. 498.

6 Sullivan, 308.

7 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxii. The names were given "with reference to some of the planters, who belonged to those towns in England." Ibid.

8 Massachusetts Laws. Douglass, i. 543. Adams, N. Eng. 73.

9 Hutchinson, i. 455.

10 Chalmers, i. 42.

11 Mather, Magnal. iv. 127.

12 Chalmers, i. 165, 166. Hutchinson, i. 93. Neal [N. Eng. i. 218.] says, the New England colonies the next twenty years decreased, instead of receiving any accession. The greatness of this change was distressfully

The inhabitants of Strawberry Bank [Portsmouth], having voluntarily given several sums of money for building and founding a parsonage house and a chapel, now granted fifty acres of land to be annexed to them as a glebe [1].

Nathaniel Turner, in behalf of the town of New Haven, purchased of Ponus, sagamore of Toquamske, and of Wascussue, a sagamore of Shippau, all the lands belonging to them, called Rippowance, excepting a small parcel, reserved by them for planting. A part or the whole of this tract was soon after purchased of New Haven by some of the inhabitants of Wethersfield, who settled upon it the town of Stamford [2].

fully felt by New England. The price of a milch cow, which had been from 25 to 30 *l.* fell this year to 5 or 6 *l.* Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxii. There were judged to be 12000 neat cattle, and about 3000 sheep in the colony. Hutchinson, ut supra. For the number of colonists, that had come to New England, see p. 246. That estimate seems to belong to this year.

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxi. From the language here used, we should naturally conclude this foundation to have been exclusively *Episcopal*; but the following account is given of it. "In the first beginning of their government, they had no laws, to render votes of town meetings valid, with respect to property; nor any forms of conveyance, but such as were taken from the laws of England. Therefore, the inhabitants thought it necessary to confirm their vote of a patronage by a legal deed, and no other forms existed, but such as were peculiarly accommodated to the church of England." Mr. Richard Gibson was chosen for "their first parson;" and *he* exercised the ministerial function according to the ritual of the English church; but he appears to have soon left the country. No person was ordained for the ministry at Portsmouth till almost 50 years from the time of its first settlement. Of all the temporary preachers during this period, Gibson was the only one, who followed the English ritual. "The building, which in 1640 was called a chapel, appears ever after to have been called a meeting house." MS. Account of Religious Societies in Portsmouth *(penes me)*, by Rev. TIMOTHY ALDEN, jun. This account, the result of diligent and accurate investigation, will be printed in the next volume * of the COLLECTIONS of Mass. Hist. Society.

2 MS. Memoir of Rev. Noah Welles of Stamford, in President Stiles' Itinerary. Turner gave the natives for the New Haven purchase 12 coats, 12 hoes, 12 hatchets, 12 glasses, 12 knives, 2 kettles, and 4 fathom of white wampum. The Wethersfield purchasers gave New Haven for the township of Stamford 33 *l.*; and obliged themselves to join with the people of New Haven in the form of government, lately agreed on there. Twenty men agreed to settle by the last of November, 1641; and before the end of 1641, there were 30 or 40 families settled at Stamford. Ibid.

* *Vol.* X.

1641.

The general court of Massachussetts established one hundred laws, called The Body of Liberties[1]. It is in the laws of an infant people, an historian has justly remarked, that we trace their principles, and discover their policy. A sketch of the most remarkable laws in the first New England code is therefore subjoined. It was enacted, that there never should be any bond slavery, villanage, or captivity among the inhabitants of the province, excepting lawful captives, taken in just wars; or such as should willingly sell themselves, or be sold to them[2]: that if any strangers, or people of other nations, professing the Christian religion, should fly to them from tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famine, wars, "or the like necessary and compulsory cause," they should receive entertainment and succour[3]: that there should be no monopolies, but of such new inventions, as were profitable to the country, and those for a short time only: that all deeds of conveyance, whether absolute or conditional, should be recorded, that neither creditors might be defrauded, nor courts troubled with vexatious suits, and endless contentions about sales and mort-

1 Winthrop, Journ. 237. They had been composed by the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, who was some time a minister at Ipswich; and had formerly been a student and practitioner at law. Having already been revised and altered by the court, and sent into every town for consideration, they were now revised again, amended, and presented, "and so established for three years, by that experience to have them fully amended, and established to be perpetual." Ibid. Hubbard [N. Eng. chap. xxxii.] says, the people had prevailed to have the subject committed to two divines, each of whom formed a model; that these models were presented to the general court in 1639; that the court committed them to the governor, deputy governor, and some others, to be considered; and that the body of laws was this year (1641) established. As governor Winthrop says expressly, that the body of liberties was composed by Mr. *Ward*, I presume the *other divine*, to whom the subject was committed, was Mr. *Cotton*; and that "An Abstract of the Laws of New England, printed in London in 1641," and reprinted in Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 173—187, was his model. It was found in manuscript in Cotton's study after his death. Mr. Aspinwall, who published it in 1655, ascribes it to "that godly, grave, and judicious divine, Mr. John Cotton;" says, that it was "commended to the general court" of Massachusetts; that "being by him done, and with all sweetness and amiableness of spirit tendered, but not accepted, he surceased to press it any farther at that season." Address to the Reader, ibid. 187—192.

2 "And such," says the law, "shall have the liberties and Christian usage, which the Law of God, established in Israel concerning such persons, doth morally require."

3 "According to that power and prudence God shall give us."

gages:

gages: that no injunction should be laid on any church, church officer, or member, in point of doctrine, worship, or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, "besides the Institution of the Lord [1]."

The exigencies of the Massachusetts colonists, arising from the scarcity of all foreign commodities and the unsaleableness of their own, incited them to provide fish, clapboards, planks, and other articles; to sow hemp and flax; and to look to the West Indies for a trade for cotton [2]. The general court, in the mean time, made orders about payment of debts, setting corn at the usual price, and making it payable for all debts, which should arise after a time prefixed. It also sent some select persons into England, "to congratulate the happy success there;" to give creditors satisfactory reasons, why such punctual payment was not made now, as had been made in former years; to be ready to use any opportunity, that might providentially be offered, for the benefit of New England; and to give advice, if required, for settling a form of church discipline [3].

It hence appears to have been no part of the object of their mission, to solicit parliamentary aid or patronage; although

1 Massachusetts Laws. In the defect of a law in any case, the decision was to be "by the Word of God." Ibid.

2 Hubbard [MS. N. Eng. chap. xxxii.] says, the general court, in 1640, made several orders for the manufacture of woolen and linen cloth, "which in a little time stopped this gap in part;" and that, soon after, a traffick was begun to the W. Indies, and Wine islands, by which, among other goods, much cotton wool was brought into the country from the W. Indies; and that the inhabitants, by learning to spin it, and by breeding sheep, and sowing hemp and flax, soon found out a way to supply themselves with many necessaries of cloth.

3 Winthrop, Journ. 223, 224. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlv. Chalmers, i. 172. The persons, sent to England on this occasion, were Hugh Peters, minister of Salem; Thomas Welde, minister of Roxbury; and William Hibbins of Boston. They sailed from Boston 8 August. Ibid. Mr. Bentley [Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 253.] says, that Mr. Peters was much engaged in trade, and knew all its embarrassments; and that, as he had often done the business of the colony with success, he was thought a proper person to return to England, and to represent the sense of the colony upon the laws of excise and trade. The historian of Salem ascribes the rapid improvements in that town to the influence of Mr. Peters, during the five years of his ministry. "The arts were introduced. A watermill was erected; a glass house; salt works; the planting of hemp was encouraged, and a regular market was established. An almanack was introduced to direct their affairs. Commerce had unexampled glory. He formed the plan of the fishery, of the coasting voyages, of the foreign voyages; and among many other vessels, one of 300 tons was undertaken under his influence." Id. ibid. Neither Welde nor Peters ever returned to N. England. The first was ejected in the reign of Charles II; the other came to a tragical end. Hutchinson, i. 98.

the colony had been advised to this measure. The reason assigned for not following that advise is very remarkable. It was the apprehension of subjection to the authority of parliament [1].

A very cold winter closed this year. The harbour of Boston, where ships ordinarily anchored, was so deeply frozen over, as to be passable for horses, carts, and oxen, five weeks [2].

The lords and gentlemen, holding a patent for the lands south of Pascataqua, finding no means to govern the people there, nor to restrain them from spoiling their timber, agreed to assign all their interest of jurisdiction to Massachusetts, reserving the land to themselves. The inhabitants at Dover and Strawberry bank were accordingly declared to belong to the Massachusetts jurisdiction [3].

William Bradford, governor of Plymouth, surrendered to the freemen of that jurisdiction the patent of the colony, which had been taken in his name [4].

Richard Smith purchased of the sachems a tract of land in the Narraganset country, remote from the English settlements; erected a house of trade; and gave free entertainment to all travellers [5].

The Dutch governor at Manhattan pressed the English with his claim to all the territory of Hartford. The governor and council of Connecticut returned an answer to the Dutch, without determining the question of yielding more

1 Winthrop, Journal, 218. "Upon the great liberty which the king had left the parliament to, in England, some of our friends there wrote to us advice to send over some to solicit for us in the parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much, &c. but consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or at least such as they might impose upon us; in which course, though they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudical to us." Ibid. On this passage governor Trumbull, nearly 140 years afterward, remarked: "Here observe, that as at this time, so it hath been ever since, that the colonies, so far from acknowledging the parliament to have a right to make laws binding on them in all cases whatsoever, they have ever denied it in any case." Lett. to J. D. Vander Capellan in Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 156.

2 Wonderwork. Prov. 170.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlv.

4 Hazard, Coll. i. 468, where is the instrument of surrender. Mather, Magnal. book ii. 5. The "Purchasers or Old Comers" made a reservation of three tracts in the patent for themselves. See Hazard, i. 466, 467, where the names of those first purchasers are preserved.

5 Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 216. The land, which Smith bought, was "among the thickest of the Indians;" his house was "on the great road of the country." Ibid.

land

land to their trading house, which had now but thirty acres. Dissatisfied with this answer, the Dutch sent soldiers to be billetted at their trading house; but the Indians, at this juncture, killing some of their men at fort Aurania, they were constrained to keep their soldiers at home, in their own defence [1].

The Caribbee islands about this time attracting the attention of the people of New England, many persons sold their estates, to transplant themselves and their families to the island of Providence; but their hopes of settling a plantation there were soon frustrated by the Spaniards [2].

The French began the preceding year (1640) to plant at a place on the continent of South America, called Surinam, in nine degrees of north latitude, from the mouth of the river Oronoque, southward to the river Maroni; but that country being low, marshy, and unhealthful, they abandoned it this year. The English, the same year, at the expence of lord Willoughby, first settled there [3].

1642.

The house of commons passed a memorable resolve in favour of New England, exempting its imports and exports from custom, subsidy, or taxation [4].

The ministers of New England received letters from several pious people in Virginia, earnestly soliciting a supply of faithful ministers. At a lecture in Boston three ministers were agreed on for the solicited mission; and they went with letters of recommendation from the governor of Massachusetts to the governor and council of Virginia; but their residence in that colony was short; and the pious design was unhappily frustrated [5].

The

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlix.

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlvi. The English had been in possession of the isle of Providence, and had partly planted it, ever since 1629; but they were now (1641) attacked by the Spaniards with a great force, and obliged to surrender the island to them. The Spaniards however, having nothing in view, in driving out the English, but to keep up their pretensions to all the Bahama islands, did not settle on the captured island; and the English again took possession of it. Anderson, ii. 391.

3 Anderson, ii. 389, 392.

4 Chalmers, i. 174. Hutchinson, i. 114, where the order is inserted. The introduction of it is remarkable: "Whereas the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, *without any public charge to this state*," &c.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xxvii, xxviii, xlvii. The three ministers sent

The assembly of divines at Westminster being called by the parliament, to consider and advise about the settling of church government; several lords of the upper house, and about thirty members of the house of commons, with some ministers in England, who were for the independency of churches, sent letters to Mr. Cotton of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, to ask their assistance in that synod; but they declined the invitation [1].

The first commencement at Harvard College was holden at Cambridge on the ninth of October; when nine candidates took the degree of bachelor of arts. Most of the members of the general court were present; and, for the encouragement of the students, dined at the "ordinary commons [2]."

Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, having recently obtained of lord Stirling's agent a grant of Martha's Vineyard, with the adjacent islands, removed his family to the Vineyard, and began a settlement at Edgarton, of which he was the ruler, and his son the minister. He appears to have been the first Englishman, who settled on that island [3].

Darby Field, an Irishman, living near Pascataqua, went in June, accompanied by two Indians, to the White Hills in New Hampshire, nearly a hundred miles west of Saco. About a month after, he went again to those mountains, with five or six persons; and, by a report of strange stones,

sent to Virginia, were Mr. Thompson of Braintree, Mr. Knolles of Watertown, and Mr. James of New Haven. They went in 1642, and returned the next summer; for the government of Virginia had made an order, that all such persons, as would not conform to the discipline of the church of England, should depart the country by a certain day. Ibid. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 119. "Though the state did silence the ministers because they would not conform to the order of England, yet the people resorted to them in private houses to hear them." Winthrop, Journ. 272.

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlvii. Winthrop, Journ. 254, 255. Hutchinson, i. 115, 116; where is a copy of the invitation, with the names of the signers.

2 Winthrop, Journ. 264, 265. The batchelors, now graduated, "were young men of good hope, and performed their parts so as give good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts." Ibid. The *Theses* of this first class of graduates are published entire in Hutchinson, Mass. Appendix, No. VI.

3 Neal, N. Eng. i. 435. Hutchinson, i. 161. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 155. Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were not included in either of the four New England governments. The earl of Stirling laid claim to all the islands, between Cape Cod and Hudson's river. Together with the conveyance of territory to Mayhew, he granted, according to the opinion and usage of his day, the same powers of government, which the Massachusetts people enjoyed by their charter. Hence it was, that Mayhew was called governor of the island. Hutchinson, ibid.

excited

excited great expectation of precious metallic substances; but they were never found [1].

The general court of Massachusetts made an order for the preparation of houses for saltpetre, with the intention of manufacturing gunpowder; but it was not carried into effect for several years [2].

A village was granted at Ipswich river; which afterward was called Topsfield [3].

Richard Blinman, who had been a minister in Wales, went with a few people from Green's Harbour, near Plymouth where he had been seated a short time, and settled at Cape Ann, which at a general court this year, was established to be a plantation, and called Gloucester [4].

Gorton, the familist exile,' and eleven other persons purchased of Miantonimoh, the Narraganset sachem, a tract of land at Mishawomet, where he built a town, which was afterward called Warwick [5].

A village having been begun the last year within the township of Charlestown, a church was now gathered there, and the settlement was called Woburn [6].

About twelve hundred and thirty-two freemen were added this year to Massachusetts colony [7].

There had now been settled in New England seventy-seven ministers, who were driven from the parent country, beside sixteen students, who afterward became ministers [8]; fifty towns and villages had been planted; thirty or forty

1 Winthrop, Journ. 247, 248, 265. Belknap, [N. Hamp. i. 19—21.] has placed this article in 1632; but gov. Winthrop is doubtless correct.

2 Wonderwork. Prov. 181.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlv.

4 Winthrop, Journ. 244. Wonderwork. Prov. 169.

5 Callender, 36. It was built about 14 miles northward of Smith's trading house. Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 217. The purchasers paid for the land 144 fathoms of wampum. Hutchinson, i. 118. Gorton and his friends 19 August, 1641, procured a solemn submission of the Narraganset sachems to king Charles; and Gorton, Greene, and Holden went to England, and obtained an order, to be suffered peaceably to possess their purchase. Their tract being incorporated in the province of Providence Plantations, they returned, and carried on their improvement; and *then*, in honour of the earl of Warwick, who had given then friendly patronage, they named the place Warwick. Callender, 36, 37.

6 Winthrop, Journ. 268. Mr. Carter was ordained pastor of the church. Ibid. Wonderwork. Prov. 175. In the first settlement of New England, Johnson observes, when the people judged their number competent to maintain a minister, "they then surely seated themselves, and not before; it being as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without fire." Ibid.

7 Wonderwork. Prov. 172.

8 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 289.

churches,

churches, and a greater number of ministers' houses had been erected; a castle, several prisons, and forts. Ships had been built from a hundred tons; and five of them were already at sea [1].

Emigrant colonists from Connecticut had already overspread the eastern end of Long Island. Encouraged by a title, given by earl Stirling in 1639, they now advanced westward to Oyster Bay; but were driven back by Kieft, the Dutch governor at New Netherlands, because they appeared within sight of his residence. The inhabitants of Connecticut instantly seized the garrison of Fort Hope on the river Connecticut, in the vicinity of Hartford, and obliged the Dutch to recede within ten miles of the Hudson [2].

The people of New Haven, intending to make a plantation at Delaware, sent agents, who duly purchased of the natives several tracts of land, on both sides of Delaware bay or river, to which neither the Dutch, nor the Swedes had any just title [3]; and erected a trading house. It did not however remain long unmolested. Kieft, the Dutch governor at New Netherlands, without any legal protest or warning, sent armed men to the Delaware, who burned the trading house, and seized the goods [4].

Emigrants from Maryland having taken possession of the Dutch Schuykill [5], the governor of New Netherlands, hearing of what he deemed an instrument, sent Alpendam from Manhattan with two sloops, and easily dispossessed these English colonists, unprepared for resistance. The weakness of Maryland, yet in its infancy, and the distractions of the parent country, involved in civil war, prevented expressions of provincial and of national resentment [6].

Intrigues of Clayborne, in Maryland, infused jealousy into the natives. The rapid increase of the English, threat-

1 N. Eng. First Fruits, in Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 247, 248.

2 Chalmers, i. 571. See p. 224, 227, of this volume.

3 Hazard, Coll. ii. 164. The occasion of the success of the New Haven agents is remarkable. A Pequot sachem, in the time of the Pequot war, had fled from his country, and settled on Delaware river. He, at this juncture, gave an honourable testimony in behalf of the English people by whom his nation had been exterminated. He told the Delaware sachem, that, although they had killed his countrymen, and driven him out; yet they were honest men, and had just cause to do what they did; for the Pequots, he acknowledged, had done them wrong, and refused, when demanded, to give them reasonable satisfaction. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlv.

4 Hazard, Coll. ii. 164, 213.

5 *Hiding Creek.*

6 Chalmers, i. 632.

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ening their own annihilation as a people, gave them much uneasiness. Individuals procured their lands, with the authority of government, for considerations totally inadequate, with which therefore, in review, they were greatly dissatisfied. These combined causes, in the beginning of this year, brought on an Indian war, which, with its accustomed evils, continued several years [1].

The Iroquois had already entered into a considerable commerce with the Dutch at New Netherlands, to whom they disposed of their peltry, and who, in return, furnished them with fire arms [2].

Maisonneuve, a gentleman of Champaign, who, the preceding year, brought over several French families to Montreal, now entered with them into possession of their new habitation and chapel of this island, with many religious solemnities [3].

1643.

This is the memorable æra of the first union of the New England colonies. This confederacy had been in agitation several years. As early as the year 1638, articles of union between the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, for amity, offence, and defence, mutual advice and assistance on all necessary occasions, were drawn up, and referred to a future time for consideration. Difficulties however occurred, which retarded the execution of the design until the present year; when commissioners, appointed by those colonies, completed and signed the articles of union at Boston, on the nineteenth of May [4]. The reasons, assigned for this union were, the dispersed

1 Chalmers, i. 216. See p. 215, 221, of this volume. In 1644 there was a sudden massacre of 300 English people in Virginia. All the Indians for 600 miles had confederated to exterminate all strangers from the country. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlvii.

2 Wynne, i. 308. See p. 144 of this volume.

3 Wynne, i. 307. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 227, 228. In 1640, the French king had vested the property of the island in 35 associates, of whom Maisonneuve was one; and 15 Oct. 1641, he was declared governor of the island. Ibid.

4 The articles were now signed by all the commissioners, excepting those of Plymouth, "who, for want of commission from their general court, deferred their subscription till the next meeting;" and then (Sept. 7.) they also subscribed them. Winthrop, Journ. 282. Hutchinson, i. 125. In Plymouth colony, beside the town of Plymouth, there were now settled Duxborough, Scituate, Taunton, Rehoboth, Sandwich, Barnstable, and Yarmouth.

persed state of the colonies; the vicinity of the Dutch, Swiss, and French, who were inclined to encroachments; the appearance of a general combination of these savage tribes, to extirpate the English colonies; the commencement of civil contest in the parent country; the impossibility of obtaining aid from England in any emergence; and, in fine, the alliance, already formed between these colonies by the sacred ties of religion. The commissioners declared, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, they be and continue one; and henceforth be called by the name of THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND [1].

The members of this league were deemed by all their neighbours as one body, with regard to their public transactions, though the peculiar affairs of each continued to be managed by its own courts and magistrates. Rhode Island, petitioning to be admitted a member of it, was absolutely refused, unless, by submitting to the jurisdiction of Plymouth, it should cease to be a separate colony. It preferred however the flattering benefits of independence to all the advantages of dependent union [2].

On the completion of the colonial confederacy, several Indian sachems came in, and submitted to the English government; among whom were Miantonimoh the Narraganset and Uncas the Moheagan chief [3]. The union rendered the colonies formidable to the Dutch, as well as Indians, and respectable in the view of the French; maintained general harmony among themselves, and secured the peace and rights of the country; preserved the colonies during the civil wars and unsettled state of England; was the grand instrument of their defence in Phillip's war; and was essentially serviceable in civilizing and Christianizing the In-

Yarmouth. Hutchinson, i. 207. It ought to have been mentioned *before*, that DUXBOROUGH was incorporated in 1637; and that many years before, there were several families settled in the place [Coll. Hist. Soc. ii. 3.]; and that TAUNTON and SANDWICH began to be settled in 1637. Winthrop, Journ. 147. Tecticut was the Indian name of the *place where Taunton* is settled. A plantation was begun there "by a gentlewoman, an ancient maid, one Mrs. Poole; she went thither, and endured much hardship, and lost much cattle." Sandwich was begun "by many families which removed from Sagus otherwise Linn." Ibid.

1 Trumbull, i. 126. Morton, 130. Hutchinson, i. 124, 126. The articles of this Union are entire in Winthrop, Journ. 276—282; Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. li; Brit. Emp. i. 281—287; Neal, N. Eng. i. 223. This union subsisted more than 40 years, until the abrogation of the charters of the N. England colonies by king James II.

2 Chalmers, i. 178. The application of Rhode Island for admission into the union was A. D. 1648.

3 Wonderwork. Prov. 185.

dians.

dians [1]. The proportion of men, assigned to the colonies by this alliance, was a hundred to Massachusetts, and forty-five to each of the other three colonies, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven [2].

Massachusetts was divided this year into four counties, or shires; Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, and Norfolk [3].

Several persons, arriving at Boston, attempted to establish presbyterian government, under the authority of the assembly of divines at Westminster, which met this year; but they were baffled by the general court [4].

The Massachusetts general court ordered, that, in the yearly choice of assistants, the freemen should use Indian corn and beans; the Indian corn, to manifest elections; the beans, the contrary; with a penalty of ten pounds for putting in more than one Indian corn or bean, for the choice or refusal of any public officer [5]. The same court ordered, that Wampampaeg should pass current in the payment of debts to the amount of forty shillings; the white, at eight a penny, the black at four, excepting in payment of country rates [6].

Mr. Rigbee, a wealthy gentleman in England, a counsellor at law, and a member of the long parliament, having purchased the Plough Patent, at Sagadahock, called Ligonia, sent over Mr. Cleaves with a commission to govern the people there, as his deputy. A legal controversy respecting the right to this territory ensued. Rigbee, or his agent, and assignees, at length relinquished their title to any part of it [7].

The township of Wells, in the province of Maine, was granted by Thomas Gorges, deputy governor, as agent to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, lord proprietor of that province, and was confirmed by a court, holden at Saco the following year [8].

On complaints against Gorton and his adherents, for injuries done to the natives, and other crimes, they were sent for, to appear at the general court at Boston. On their refusal to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, Gorton and several of his adherents were taken, carried to

1 Trumbull, i. 127.
2 British Emp. i. 84.
3 Hutchinson, i. 117.
4 Chalmers, i. 165. Massachusetts Laws. Hutchinson, i. 117.
5 Massachusetts Laws.
6 Ibid.
7 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xliv.
8 Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 138.

Boston,

Boston, and imprisoned; and the next year were banished from the jurisdiction, and from the lands, purchased of the Indians, on pain of death [1].

It was strongly suspected, that Miantonimoh had, the last year, contrived to draw all the Indians throughout the country into a general conspiracy against the English. On being sent for, however, by the Massachusetts government, he readily appeared, and declared his innocence with respect to a conspiracy; and the English were satisfied [2].

This year Miantonimoh made war on Uncas, the Pequot sachem, who had been uniformly friendly to the English, and was still their ally. With a thousand Narragansets, Miantonimoh gave Uncas battle; but Uncas, with less than half that number of Moheagans, obtained the victory, and took Miantonimoh prisoner. By the advice of the commissioners of the United Colonies, he soon after cut off his head [3].

The English parliament passed an ordinance, appointing the earl of Warwick governor in chief, and lord high admiral of the American colonies, with a council of five peers, and twelve commoners. It empowered him, in conjunction with his associates, to examine the state of their affairs; to send for papers and persons; to remove governors and officers, and appoint others in their places; and to assign over to these such part of the powers, that were now granted, as he should think proper [4].

The English people of New Haven, in all their attempts to settle a plantation at Delaware, found the Swedes open enemies, and the Dutch secret underminers of their interest. This year Mr. Lamberton, in the name of the settlers, complained to the commissioners for the United Colonies of many gross injuries, which they sustained from both; of the Dutch, for burning down their trading house on the ri-

1 Winthrop, Journ. 309, 310. Callender 36. Hutchinson, i. 119—122. Adams, N. Eng. 66. Hubbard [MS. N. Eng. chap. xlvii.] says, Gorton encouraged the Narragansets to rise in rebellion against the United Colonies; but I do not find this charge alleged, at the trial. See a letter, written by him in his own defence, in Hutchinson, i. Appendix No. xx. See p. 267 of this volume.

2 Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 44.

3 Winthrop, Journ. 305, 306. I. Mather, Ind. Troubles, 56. Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 42, 45; MS. N. Eng. chap. I. Callender, 72, Coll. Hist. Soc. ix. 77, 84. Hubbard (ut supra) describes Miantonimoh as "a very goodly personage, of tall stature, subtil and cunning in his contrivements, as well as haughty in his designs."

4 Chalmers, i. 176. This ordinance is entire in Hazard, Coll. i. 533—535.

ver;

ver; and of the Swedes, for complicated abuses. Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, president of the commissioners for the United Colonies, wrote in September to William Kieft, the Dutch governor of New Netherlands, and to John Prince, the Swedish governor at Delaware, on the subject of these injuries; and soon after received answers, "but without any satisfaction [1]." The commissioners however authorized Mr. Lamberton to treat with the Swedish governor, and gave him a new commission to proceed with the trade and plantation at Delaware; and harmony was restored [2].

The government of Harvard College had been committed by the general court to all the magistrates and the ministers of the three nearest churches; with the president; but the court now enacted, that all the magistrates and the teaching elders [ministers] of the six nearest towns [3], and the president for the time being, should be governors of the college for ever [4].

Some of the inhabitants of Watertown began a plantation at Nashaway, which was called Lancaster [5].

1644.

Roger Williams, having been sent to England, as agent for Rhode Island and Providence, by the interest of sir Henry Vane, obtained of the earl of Warwick a patent for the incorporation of the towns of Providence, Newport, and Portsmouth, with the power of governing themselves; but agreeably to the laws of England [6].

An interesting change took place in the government of Massachusetts. The deputies in the general court moved, that the two houses might set apart, the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves; and that what the one should agree upon should be sent to the other, and,

1 *Hazard, Coll. ii. 320.*

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlix.

3 Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester.

4 Winthrop, Journ. 319. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 21. They met the first time, by virtue of this act, 27 December, 1643, "considered of the officers of the college, and chose a treasurer." Ibid.

5 Winthrop, Journ. 321.

6 Callender, 43, 44. Chalmers, i. 271, 272. Hutchinson, i. 39. Adams, N. Eng. 66, 67. The patent is in Hazard, Coll. i. 538—540. It is there dated 14 March, 1643; but that was according to the *old* method of dating. Williams went to England in 1643.

if both should agree, then the act to pass. The motion, after considerable controversy, and some delay, took effect; and, from this time, votes were sent, in a parliamentary way, from one house to another [1].

The castle on Castle Island having fallen into decay [2], the six neighbouring towns undertook to rebuild it, at their own charges; but, when completed, the other towns in the colony contributed somewhat toward the expence. A captain was now ordained, and put in possession of the castle, with a yearly stipend for himself and his soldiers, whom he was to keep in constant readiness on the island [3].

There were now twenty-six training bands in Massachusetts; and the soldiers, composing them, were ordered to "be exercised and drilled," eight days in a year [4]. Their officers were chosen by a major vote of the militia [5]. A horse troop was also enlisted [6]. It was ordained, that there be one general officer, in time of war, under the name of major general [7]. Thomas Dudley, esquire, was appointed to this office, at the general election in May; and was the first major general in Massachusetts [8]. The reverend Mr. Wilson of Boston, among other donors, gave a thousand pounds for the procurement of artillery [9].

A treaty of peace was made at Boston between governor Endicot and the assistants, on the one part, and M. Marie, the deputy of M. D'Aulney, the French governor of Acadie, on the other; with a proviso, that it be ratified by the

1 Winthrop, Journ. 328. Mass. Laws. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlvi. Hutchinson, i. 148. Chalmers, i. 166.

2 The reason of this early decay was, that "the country afforded no lime, but what was burnt of oyster shells." Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 298. Hubbard [MS. N. Eng. chap. xlix.] says, that the towns, which rebuilt the castle, were alarmed by the menaces of the Dutch, and apprehended, that, without some fortification at the entrance into Boston harbour, they lay "exposed to the invasion of a mean and contemptible enemy;" that the assistance from other towns was in 1645; and that afterward the general court completed the establishment.

3 Wonderwork. Prov. 194.

4 Wonderwork. Prov. 191.

5 Pemberton's MSS.

6 Ibid.

7 Jealousy of the military power is discernible in Johnson's account of this transaction. He represents the government, as "labouring to avoid high titles," yet as ordaining this office, and confering this title, from a conviction of the necessity of order and subordination. See p. 250.

8 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlv.

9 Wonderwork. Prov. 194.

com-

commissioners for the United Colonies at their next meeting[1].

The Anabaptists beginning to grow troublesome in Massachusetts, the legislature of that colony passed a law against them, with the penalty of banishment for adherence to their principles, and contempt of civil and ecclesiastical authority[2].

Nantasket, having now nearly twenty houses, and a minister, was by the general court named Hull[3]. Eastham was built by the people of Plymouth[4]. The reverend Samuel Newman with part of his church removed from Weymouth, and settled Rehoboth[5]. The towns of Reading[6] and Wenham, in Massachusetts, were founded[7].

Martha's Vineyard, by an act of the commissioners for the United Colonies, was annexed to Massachusetts[8].

William Brewster, ruling elder of the church in Plymouth, died in the eighty-fourth year of his age[9].

St. Lucia lying uninhabited, Parquet, a Frenchman, sent to that island forty men under Rousellan, well provided with stores and ammunition. Rousellan, marrying a Caribbee woman, was left unmolested; and the Indians traded with his colony[10].

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. liii; and Hazard, Coll. i. 536, 537, where this Treaty is inserted. See also Hazard, Coll. ii. 53, 54. Winthrop, Journ. 360. The commissioners *did* ratify it in September 1645.

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlv. Hazard, Coll. i. 538, where the law is inserted.

3 Winthrop, Journ. 339.

4 Morton, 132.

5 Pres. Stiles' Lit. Diary. Here he completed his Concordance, using pine knots for his study light. Ib. He spent a year and a half at Dorchester; 5 years at Weymouth; and 19 years at Rehoboth: where he died in 1663, Ætat. LXIII. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 113—116. It is *his* work, "which passes under the name of The Cambridge Concordance." Coll. Hist. Soc. ix. 191. One edition *had been* printed in England.

6 Wonderwork. Prov. 188. Hubbard [MS. N. Eng. chap. xlvii.] says, a church was gathered there the next year.

7 Wonderwork. Prov. 189. Wenham was built between Salem and Ipswich; and a church was now gathered there.

8 Pemberton, MSS.

9 Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 108, 118. Morton, 126 (there wrongly placed in 1643). Belknap, Biog. 252—266. He was educated at the University of Cambridge in England; and was a man of considerable abilities and learning, and of eminent piety. Though well qualified for the pastoral office, yet his diffidence would not allow him to undertake it. In the destitute state however of the Plymouth church, his public services were of the highest utility. In his discourses he was discriminating, yet pathetic; in the government of the church, resolute, yet conciliatory.

10 Univ. Hist. xli. 217.

1645.

The commissioners for the United Colonies [1] sent messengers to the sachems of Narraganset and Moheagan, requiring their appearance at Boston, and, in the mean time, a suspension of the wars between the two nations. The Narragansets treated the messengers kindly at the first, but soon, changing their tone, declared their determination to have no peace, without the head of Uncas. Roger Williams of Providence giving notice to the commissioners, that the Narragansets would suddenly break out against the English, they drew up a declaration, containing those facts, which they considered sufficient to justify them in making war against the Narragansets [2]. In prosecution of such a war, they determined immediately to raise three hundred men [3]. The news of the preparation of this army intimidated the Narragansets, who now submitted to peace, on terms proposed to them by the commissioners. These terms were, That, as their breach of covenant had been the cause of all the expence, in preparing for war, and it was but reasonable that they should reimburse it, they should pay, at different periods, two thousand fathoms of wampum; restore to Uncas all the captives and canoes, which they had taken from him, and make satisfaction for destroying his corn; submit all matters of controversy between them and Uncas, to the commissioners, at their next meeting; keep perpetual peace with the English and all their allies and subjects; and give hostages for the performance of the treaty. This treaty was signed on the thirtieth of August; and Indian hostages were

1 The meeting of the Commissioners was called 28 June, before their ordinary time of meeting, "partly," says Morton [183.], "in regard of some differences between the French and the Government of the Massachusetts, about their aiding of Monsieur Latore, and partly about the Indians, who had broken their former agreements about the peace, concluded the year before."

2 It is entitled, "A Declaracon of former passages and proceedings betwixt the English and the Narrohiggansets, with their confederates, wherein the grounds and justice of the ensuing warr are opened and cleared." This Declaration was published by the order of the Commissioners at Boston, on the 19th of August, 1645. A Copy of it is preserved in Hazard, Coll. ii. 45—50, and in Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. I. In this Declaration it is affirmed, that the English Colonies, "both in their Treaties and converse with the barbarous natives of this wilderness, have had an awful respect to divine rules."

3 Massachusetts was to furnish 190; Plymouth, 40; Connecticut, 40; New Haven, 30. Hutchinson, i. 139.

left.

left. The small English army, already prepared to march, was now disbanded; and the fourth day of September, which had been appointed for a fast, was ordered to be observed as a day of thanksgiving [1].

The general court of Massachusetts laid an impost on wines and strong liquors, for the support of government, the maintenance of fortifications, and the protection of the harbours [2].

Most English manufacturers having already begun to flourish in New England, liberty was granted this year, by the legislature of Massachusetts, to make iron. An iron work was accordingly set up at Lynn, with good patronage, and for a considerable time was carried on with spirit; but at length, through some fault, it failed [3].

A remarkable instance of justice occurred in Massachusetts this year, in the execution of the law, against buying and selling slaves. A negro, who had been "fraudulently and injuriously taken and brought from Guinea," and sold to Mr. Williams of Pascataqua, was demanded by the general court, that he might be sent home to his native country [4].

Manchester, in Massachusetts, was incorporated [5].

A ship, built at Cambridge, sailing for the Canaries, carrying fourteen pieces of ordnance and about thirty men, was attacked by an Irish man of war with seventy men and twenty pieces. A severe action ensued, which continued a whole day; but a shot at length raking the steerage of the man of war, the New England ship escaped [6].

[1] Hutchinson, i. 138—142. Trumbull, i. 152—156. The parties in the Treaty were, the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, and Pessecus Mexanno, the eldest of the sons of Canonicus, and other Sagamores of the Narraganset and Niantic Indians. Hazard, Coll. ii. 42—43, where the Articles of this Treaty are inserted entire.

The commissioners, "considering that the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven have expended more than their proportions in the late expedition, and that they have been out of purse a good value a considerable tyme before the other colonies were at any charge about the same," ordered, that those two colonies should have the 500 fathoms of wampum, due on the first payment, deducting the first hundred fathoms ordered to be given to Uncas. Hazard, Coll. ii. 44.

[2] Massachusetts Laws. Ten shillings were to be paid for every butt of Spanish wine, landed in the colony. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lv.

[3] Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlv. "Instead of drawing out bars of iron for the country's use," says this historian, "there was hammered out nothing but contention and lawsuits."

[4] Belknap, N. Hamp. i. 75. The court was "resolved to send him back without delay." Ibid.

[5] Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 238.

[6] Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lvi.

There were in Providence and its vicinity, about this time, one hundred and one men, fit to bear arms [1].

In the colony of Connecticut there were eight taxable towns; Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield, Stratford, Fairfield [2], Saybrook, Southampton [on Long Island,] and Farmington [3]. In the colony of New Haven there were six; New Haven, Milford, Guilford, Southold [on Long Island,] Stamford, and Branford [4].

Charles de la Tour, for the sum of two thousand and eighty-four pounds, mortgaged fort La Tour, and all his lands and possessions in Acadie, to sergeant major Edward Gibbons [5].

The legislature of Virginia prohibited dealing by barter; and established the Spanish piece of eight at six shillings, as the standard of currency for that colony [6].

A conspiracy of William Cleyborne and Richard Ingle, aided by the turbulent spirit of the times, raised a rebellion in Maryland. Calvert, the governor, unsupported by any real power, was constrained to flee into Virginia. Cleyborne and Ingle instantly seized the administration, which they exercised with the accustomed violence of the rebellious [7].

1 Pres. Stiles' Literary Diary.

2 FAIRFIELD, was settled soon after the Pequot war. Mr. Ludlow, who went with the troops in pursuit of the Pequots to Sasco (the great swamp where the battle was fought), was so pleased with the fine tract of country, that he soon projected a settlement there; and in 1639 he with a number of others began a plantation at Unquowa, which was called by the settlers Fairfield. At first there were but 8 or 10 families, which probably removed from Windsor with Mr. Ludlow; very soon after another company from Watertown joined them; and a third company from Concord. Trumbull, i. 104, 105. The settlers from Concord brought with them a minister, Mr. Jones; who came from England an old man, and died a few years afterward. Pres. Stiles' Itinerary.

3 FARMINGTON, received its name this year (1645). It was part of a tract, purchased by governor Haynes in behalf of Hartford in 1640. The Indian name of that entire tract was Tunxis; which included the town of Farmington and Southington, and extended westward to the Mohawk country. Trumbull, i. 115.

4 Trumbull, i. 157. BRANFORD was settled about 1640, by a number of people from Wethersfield. The Indian name of the place was Totoket, which was sold to the Wethersfield people by New Haven, for what it originally cost that town. The Rev. Abraham Pierson, with a part of his church and congregation from Long Island, united with the people of Wethersfield in the settlement of Branford. Ibid. 144.

5 Hazard, Coll. i. 541—544, where there is a copy of the mortgage.

6 Jefferson, Virg. 247.

7 Chalmers, i. 217. This rebellion was suppressed in August 1646.

The

The fort of the Swedes at Delaware was burnt with all its buildings; and all their powder and goods were blown up [1].

The Dutch governor at Santa Cruz about this time surprized the English governor on that island, and murdered him. A war ensued on the island, and the Dutch were defeated [2].

1646.

The general court of Massachusetts passed the first act to encourage the carrying of the gospel to the Indians; and recommended it to the ministers to consult on the best means of effecting the design [3]. By their advice, it is probable, the first Indian mission was undertaken; for on the twenty-eighth of October the Rev. John Eliot commenced those pious and indefatigable labours among the natives, which ultimately procured for him the title of The Indian Apostle. His first visit was to the Indians at Nonantum, whom he had apprized of his intention [4].

By a motion of the general court of Massachusetts, a synod, called for the purpose of settling a uniform scheme of ecclesiastical discipline, met at Cambridge [5].

In an agreement, made in 1644, between George Fenwick and agents of the colony of Connecticut, it was stipulated, that a certain duty on corn, biscuit, beaver, and cattle, which should be exported from the river's mouth, should be paid to Fenwick for the space of ten years. This agreement was confirmed, the succeeding year, by the general court, which, at the same time, passed an act, impo-

[1] Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlviii.
[2] Univ. Hist. xli. 261.
[3] Hutchinson, i. 161.
[4] Hutchinson, i. 161—163. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 168; v. 256, 257; vii. [illegible]. They were situated on the south side of Charles river, about 4 or 5 miles from his house at Roxbury. On his approach to their village, accompanied by three other persons, Waban, a wise and grave Indian, attended by five or six others met him, and welcomed him and his companions into a large wigwam, where a considerable number of his countrymen assembled, to hear the new doctrine. After a short prayer in English, Mr. Eliot delivered a sermon, of an hour's length, in the Indian language, and was well understood by his new and attentive auditory. Many of the hearers listened to his discourse with tears. Waban received religious impressions, which were never afterward lost, and which happily qualified and disposed him to aid the pious design of converting his countrymen to the Christian faith. Ibid.
[5] Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 25. See A. D. 1648.

sing a duty of two pence per bushel on all grain; six pence on every hundred weight of biscuit; and a small duty on all beaver, exported from the mouth of the river during the same period. The object of this duty was the maintenance of the fort at Saybrook. At a meeting of the commissioners for the United Colonies this year (1646,) the commissioners from Connecticut made complaint, that Mr. Pynchon and the inhabitants of Springfield refused to pay the impost [1]. The board of commissioners judged the fort at Saybrook to be of great importance to the towns on the river; but the subject of an impost having not been laid before the general court of Massachusetts, and the commissioners of that colony having had no instructions respecting it, it was deferred to the next meeting. At that meeting (1647,) the commissioners, on a full hearing, determined, that it was of weighty consideration to all the plantations on the river, that the mouth of it should be secured, and a safe passage for goods up and down the river, maintained, though at some expence; and that, as Springfield enjoyed the benefit, the inhabitants of that town should pay the impost of two pence a bushel for corn, and a penny on the pound for beaver, or twenty shillings on every hogshead [2].

A few persons of some influence in Massachusetts, opposed civil and ecclesiastical institutions, and imagining that the parliament of England would establish the presbyterian form of church government only, presented a petition to the general court, to establish that form in this colony. The court being slow to censure them, they associated with themselves a few more persons, and framed a bill of complaint, containing gross charges against the government of the colony, with the intention of presenting it

1 SPRINGFIELD, according to several respectable authorities, was settled by William Pynchon and others from Roxbury in 1636. Hutchinson, i. 98, 99. Chalmers, i. 287. Trumbull, i. 57. For about two years it was united in government with the towns in Connecticut. Trumbull, ibid. Johnson [Wonderwork. Prov. 199.] erroneously places the settlement of this town about 1645. In a MS. account of ministers by Pres. Stiles, I find, that George Moxon settled at Springfield in 1637, that a church was gathered in 1645, when he was chosen pastor, and that he returned to England in 1652. This is a traditionary account received from Rev. Stephen Williams, D. D. and Rev. Mr. Breck, ministers of Springfield. The church and town Records were burnt in the Indian wars.

2 Trumbull, i. 168—170. Previous to this decision of the commissioners, Massachusetts had unfairly prejudged her own cause. For the resolutions of the general court of this colony respecting the impost, and governor Hopkins' reply in behalf of Connecticut, see Hazard, Coll. ii. 81, 82, where they are inserted entire. See also Trumbull, *ut supra*.

to

to parliament; but the magistrates detected and suppressed the design [1]. Edward Winslow, already chosen an agent for the colony, to answer the complaint of Gorton and other Familists, was now instructed to make defence against these new adversaries, who had actually taken measures to render the colony obnoxious in England [2]. Winslow, by his prudent management, aided by the estimation in which he was holden by many members of parliament and the principal persons in power, successfully vindicated the colony [3].

Meanwhile new troubles arose. The Quakers making their appearance in Massachusetts, their legislature of that colony passed laws against their toleration. No master of a vessel was, from this time, allowed to bring any one of this sect into its jurisdiction, on penalty of a hundred pounds [4].

The inclination of ministers and others to return to the parent country exciting serious concern in New England; the commissioners for the United Colonies proposed, that measures be taken to detain in the country such scholars, as should receive contributions toward their education at Cambridge [5].

The

1 Wonderwork. Prov. 202. The suppression "was effected by a small fine laid on them." Ibid.

2 Ibid. This appears, by a petition to the earl of Warwick and the other commissioners for Foreign Plantations, found among the papers of these malcontents. The substance of it is in Hutchinson, i. 148, 149.

3 Morton, 134. The Petition and Remonstrance of the governor and company of Massachusetts, to the earl of Warwick and the other commissioners for Foreign Plantations, in answer to the Petition of Gorton, is in Hazard, Coll. i. 547—550. The order, obtained by Gorton and others, to be suffered peaceably to possess their purchase [See p. 267 note 5. of this volume,] was obtained *this year*. That Order, or Passport, is in Hazard, Coll. i. 546; dated 15 May, 1646. However disorganizing and vexatious may have been the conduct of Gorton and his adherents, it is pleasing to find the first characters in England endeavouring to moderate the exercise of colonial authority, and to check the current of popular indignation. The commissioners of parliament, in 1647, sent letters to Massachusetts colony (in reply to its Remonstrance and Petition,) in which, with delicate address, they at once paid great deference to the just rights of the colony, yet strongly inculcated the toleration of those, who had been once driven into exile. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. liv. The Letters are in Hazard, Coll. i. 551—553.

4 Massachusetts Laws. Hazard, Coll. ii. 563.

5 Hazard, Coll. ii. 74, 75. The claim to their public services was founded on the charity, that had been repeatedly bestowed by the colonies for the maintenance of poor scholars at Cambridge. In 1664, the Rev. Mr. Shepard of Cambridge wrote to the commissioners, representing the necessity of farther assistance; and desired them to encourage a general contribution in the colonies. The commissioners recommended it to the consideration of the several legislatures; they adopted the recommendation;

The freemen of Massachusetts, viewing the commissioners for the United Colonies as general officers, now chose their own commissioners for themselves [1].

Captain Dobson, in a ship of eighty tons, double manned, fitted out from Boston for trade, with a testimonial for the Gulf of Canada, ran, in stress of weather, into a harbour at Cape Sable, where he discharged several pieces of ordnance. While the natives were trading with the people on board, D'Aulney, the French governor, sent twenty men from Port Royal, who captured the English, and carried them with their ship into that port, where the ship and cargo, valued at a thousand pounds, were kept as confiscated. The men were sent home [2].

By an ordinance of the lords and commons of England, all merchandize, goods, and necessaries for the American plantations, were exempted from duty for three years; on condition, that no ship or vessel in any of the colonial ports be suffered to lade any goods of the growth of the plantations, and carry them to foreign parts, excepting in English bottoms. This was the foundation of those subsequent navigation acts, which may be termed the Commercial Palladium of Great Britain [3].

A great and general battle was fought, near the confines of Connecticut, between the Dutch and the Indians, with mutual firmness and obstinacy. The Dutch ultimately kept the field [4].

The

mendation; and an annual contribution was made through the United Colonies several subsequent years. Trumbull, i. 148. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 45. In the difficult case above stated (1646,) the commissioners for Massachusetts desired to advise with the general court and ministers of that colony, "for the ordering such a course, and how such youths may be imployed and incouraged when they leave the Colledge, for New Plantations, or as schoole Masters, or in ships, till they be called and fitted for other service." Ib.

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. liii. They had previously been chosen ever since the confederation, by the magistrates and deputies. Ibid.

2 Ibid. lv. The ground of the seizure and confiscation appears to have been an illicit trade with the natives.

3 Anderson, ii. 404, 405. The preamble of the ordinance recites "that whereas the several plantations of Virginia, Bermudas, Barbadoes, and other places of America, have been much beneficial to this kingdom, by the increase of navigation, and of the customs arising from the commodities of the growth of those plantations imported into this kingdom, &c." The ordinance enacts, "that all merchandizes and necessaries, for the supportation, use, and expence of the said plantations, shall pay no custom nor duty for the same, the duty of excise only excepted, for three years to come, except to the plantations in Newfoundland: Provided, &c."

4 Trumbull, i. 163, 164. In that part of Horseneck, commonly known by

The Dutch governor (Kieft) and the senate of New Netherlands protested to governor Eaton of New Haven against the English colonists, for entering within their limits [1].

The French were expelled from Cayenne by the Dutch under the command of admiral Binks [2].

1647.

The first general assembly of Rhode Island, consisting of the collective freemen of the several plantations in the colony, met at Portsmouth on the nineteenth of May; established a code of laws; and, erected an institution of civil government [3]. The legislative power was invested in a court of commissioners, consisting of six persons, chosen by each of the four towns of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick. Their acts were to be in force, unless repealed within a limited time by the vote of the major part of the freemen of the province, to be collected at their respective town meetings, appointed for that purpose [4]. The whole executive power appears to have been invested in a president and four assistants, chosen from the freemen by their several towns, and constituting the supreme court for the administration of justice. Every township, forming within itself a corporation, elected a council of six, for the management of its peculiar affairs; and the town court had the trial of small cases, but with an appeal to the court of the president and associates [5].

The French at Canada, in their trade with the neighbouring Indians, had several years been obstructed by the Mohawks. Unable to subdue that ferocious people, they, about this time, sent M. Marie as an agent, to solicit aid of Massachusetts, with offers of liberal compensation; but the

name of Strickland's Plain. "Great numbers were slain on both sides, and the graves of the dead, for a century or more, appeared like a number of small hills." Ibid.

[1] The words of the Protest are, "for entering the limit of New Netherland." New Haven is called in that Protest "Red Hills;" and elsewhere, by the Dutch, "Red Mounte;" from the colour of the hills, which surround the town. The Protest and gov. Eaton's Answer are in Hazard, Coll. ii. 55, 56. For a farther correspondence between the English and Dutch governors on this subject, see Hazard, ibid. 68—72.

[2] Univ. Hist. xxxix. 232.

[3] Chalmers, i. 273. Backus, N. Eng. i. 198. Adams, N. Eng. 91.

[4] Callender, 44, 45. Douglas, ii. 80.

[5] Callender, 45. Chalmers, i. 273.

government

government of that colony agreed not to the alluring proposal [1].

The legislature of Massachusetts passed an act against Jesuits [2].

The town bridge, at the entrance of Salem from Boston, was built. It was made of earth, secured with stone. The children of the poor in Salem were put under masters, and into good families, by the town [3].

Peter Stuyvesant, succeeding Kieft, as governor of New Netherlands, laid claim to all the lands, rivers, and streams, from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod [4].

Several persons of good quality in England ventured their estates on an iron work, which they began at Braintree; but the price of labour was so high as to render it unprofitable [5].

An epidemical disease passed through the American Continent. The English, French, Dutch, and Indians, were seized with it. It extended to the West Indies. In each of the islands of Barbadoes and St. Christopher's five or six thousand died. In these islands it was accompanied with a great drought, which caused an extreme scarcity of provisions [6].

"The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America," a work composed by the reverend Nathaniel Ward, was published this year, in a quarto volume, at London [7].

Thomas

1 Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians, in Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 161. Marie was "a person of orders, and most probably a Jesuit." "Great pay" was offered by the French "for such succour" against the Mohawks. "The English," says Gookin, "were not willing to engage themselves in that affair, forasmuch as the Maquas [Mohawks] had never done any injury to the English, and in policy and reason were like to be a good Bulwark between the English and French, in case a [illegible] should come of hostility between these two nations. For these and other reasons, M. Marie returned without succour." Ibid.

2 Hazard, Coll. i. 550, where the act is entire.

3 Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 229, 237.

4 Hazard, Coll. ii. 113, 216. Kieft took passage *the next year* for Holland, in a ship, laden to the value of 20,000 *l.* but the mariners, mistaking the channel, were carried into Severn, and cast away on the coast of Wales near Swansey; and Kieft and about 80 other persons were drowned. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. l. 5 Wonderwork. Prov. 207.

6 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lvi. This historian denominates it a plague or pestilential fever.

7 Bibliotheca Americ. 92. If this were the year of its first publication, it must have had a rapid currency: for I have seen a copy of the *fourth edition*, printed in 1647. It is a production entirely original, and the work of a master. It was written during the struggles between Charles I. and the parliament of England; and seems to have been intended to influence both parties to moderation. It contains many important truths, seasoned

Thomas Hooker, minister at Hartford, and the father of the churches in Connecticut, died, at the age of sixty-one years [1].

1648.

The New England colonists sent to the governor and council of Canada a proposal, that there should be perpetual peace between the colonies, even though their mother countries were at war. The French governor D'Ailleboust and his council were so well pleased with the proposal, that they appointed father Dreuillettes to go to Boston, and finish the negotiation, on condition that the English colonists would assist the French against the Iroquois. The same reasons however, that had already prevented them from acceding to a similar proposal, operated against their compliance with this condition; and the negociation was without effect. It was afterward renewed by the French, but in vain [2].

Since the consultation, in 1634, respecting a body of laws, adapted to the civil and religious state of Massachusetts, committees, consisting of magistrates and elders, had been appointed almost every year until this time, to prepare a code for that colony. Meanwhile laws of the greatest necessity had been successively enacted. This year, for the first time, the whole were collected, ratified by the court, and printed [3].

The first instance of capital punishment for witchcraft, in New England, occurring in colonial history, was in this year. Margaret Jones of Charlestown was indited for a witch, found guilty, and executed [4].

The synod, which met at Cambridge in 1646, protracted its session, by adjournments, to this year, when it was dis-

seasoned with inimitable wit and humour; but its stile is obsolete. The author was the same person (mentioned p. 262 of this volume,) who composed *The Body of Liberties* for Massachusetts. He was forced out of England for Nonconformity in 1634, and was minister of Ipswich until 1645, when he returned to England, where he died at about the age of LXXXIII years. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 167.

1 Trumbull, i. 306. He was pre-eminently distinguished, as a preacher and a writer, and as a man of piety. His most celebrated work was "A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline;" which was printed at London, in a quarto volume of nearly 500 pages, 1648, under the inspection of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Goodwin. See Mather, Magnal. book iii. 58—68; Morton, 185; Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 38—41.

2 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 448. See A. D. 1647.

3 Hutchinson, i. 437. Josselyn, Voy. 263, 265.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lvi. Hutchinson, i. 150.

solved,

solved. This synod composed and adopted the platform of church discipline, called "The Cambridge Platform," and now recommended it, together with the Westminster Confession of Faith, to the general court, and to the churches. The churches of New England in general complied with the recommendation; and the Cambridge Platform, with the ecclesiastical laws, formed the religious constitution of the New England colonies [1].

Marblehead, hitherto a part of Salem, had the consent of the town for separate town privileges [2].

The town of Malden was built on the north side of Mystic river, by several persons from Charlestown, who gathered themselves into a church [3].

The inhabitants of Boston being now too numerous to meet in one assembly, the people in the north east part of the town formed a distinct church [4]; and, the next year, erected an edifice for public worship [5].

Several persons having begun a plantation at Pequot harbour [6], the reverend Richard Blinman had removed from Gloucester to this new settlement; which, after his arrival, received considerable accession. The inhabitants now consisting of more than forty families, the general court granted them, for their encouragement, three years' exemption from colonial taxation. John Winthrop, esquire, was authorized to superintend the affairs of the plantation [7]; which was afterward called New London [8]. A con-

1 Mather, Magnal book v. 3—38, where the Platform is inserted entire. Trumbull, i, 302. Neal, N. Eng. ii. 53. Adams, N. Eng. 89, 90. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 25. The ministers and churches of Connecticut and New Haven were present at the synod, and united in the form of discipline which it recommended. By this platform the churches of New England in general walked for more than 30 years. This, in connexion with the ecclesiastical laws, was the religious constitution of Connecticut about 60 years, until the compilation of the Saybrook Platform. Trumbull, i. 302—305.

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 233.

3 Wonderwork. Prov. 211.

4 Johnson [Wonderwork. Prov. 212.] says, this was the *30th* church in Massachusetts.

5 Wonderwork. Prov. 212. That part of the town was separated from the rest "by a narrow stream," which, Johnson says, was "cut through a neck of land by industry." Ibid. It is the stream, which passes under Mill bridge. See Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 257.

6 In 1646. The Indian name of the *land*, on which the first settlements were begun, was Nameaug, *alias*, Towawog. Trumbull, i. 173.

7 Ibid. Mr. Blinman continued at New London until 1658, when he removed to New Haven. Returning afterward to England, he was settled at Bristol, where he died. He wrote in defence of Infant Baptism. Pres. Stiles' MSS.

8 In 1654, the whole tract, now comprised in New London and Groton,

A congregational church in Virginia, founded by the ministers sent from New England in 1642, was now increased to the number of one hundred and eighteen persons; but its magnitude afforded it no security. Sir William Berkeley, governor of the colony, had already banished Mr. Durand, its elder; and Mr. Harrison, its pastor, now enjoined to depart from the country, came to New England [1].

Of the Susquehannah Indians, not more than one hundred and ten were now left. These, with the Oneidas and Wicomeses [2], amounted to two hundred and fifty [3].

The island of St. Bartholomew was first planted, this year, by fifty Frenchmen, under M. Poincy, governor of St. Christopher's, and at his own expence [4].

Canonicus, the great sachem of Narragansetts, died at a very advanced age; leaving the hereditary quarrel with the English entailed on his successors [5].

1649.

Charles the First of England was beheaded at Whitehall, at the age of fifty-one years [6].

On the publication of the accounts of the hopeful progress

ton, was called Pequot; and retained this name about four years; but in 1658 (March 24) the assembly of Connecticut passed an act for its alteration. "This court, considering that there hath yet no place, in any of the colonies, being named in memory of the city of London, there being a new plantation, settled upon that fair river Moheagan, in the Pequot country, being an excellent harbour, and a fit and convenient place for future trade, it being also the only place which the English in these parts have possessed by conquest, and that upon a very just war, upon that great and warlike people, the Pequots, that therefore they might thereby leave to posterity the memory of that renowned city of London, from whence we had our transportation, have thought fit, in honour to that famous city, to call the said plantation NEW LONDON." The name of the river was also changed, and called the Thames. Trumbull, i. 173, 174.

1 *Hubbard*, MS. N. Eng. chap. lv. Mr. Harrison after residing a year or two in New England, went to England; and having taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity, settled at last in Ireland. Ibid.

2 Their "forced auxiliaries." Smith, N. Jersey, 81. 3 Ibid.

4 Encyclop. Methodique, *Art.* BARTHELEMI. Univ. Hist. xli. 259. Atlas Geog. Amer. v. 536.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. l.

6 Hume, Hist. Eng. chap. x. Henault, Hist. France, ii. 118. The house of lords was suppressed; the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abolished; and the whole power fell into the hands of the people. Oliver Cromwell was declared captain general of the troops of the state; and afterward rose to the supreme power, with the title of Protector. Henault, ib.

of

of the Indians in New England in the knowledge of the gospel, the attention of the English nation was excited to the subject. By the solicitation of Edward Winslow, then in England as agent for the United Colonies, an act of parliament was passed, by which the Society for propagating the Gospel into New England was incorporated [1].

On the decease of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his estate in the Province of Maine fell to his eldest son John; who, through discouragement or incapacity, took no care of it. Most of the commissioners, appointed to govern this province, having deserted it, the remaining inhabitants were now obliged to combine for their own security [2].

A proposal was made to the commissioners for the United Colonies, from New Haven general court, What course might be taken for the speedy planting of Delaware. After a deliberate attention to the subject, the conclusion of the commissioners was, not to patronize the projected plantation [3].

During the extreme distress of the royal party in England, this year, the immense territory, lying between the rivers Rappahannock and Potowmac, was granted to lord Hopton, Berkeley, Culpepper, and other cavaliers, who probably wished to make Virginia an asylum [4].

1 Gookin, in Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 212. This Society was to consist of 16 persons, namely, a president, treasurer, and 14 assistants; who were authorized to purchase real estate not exceeding 2000 *l.* per annum, and to possess goods and money without restriction. The Commissioners for the United Colonies of N. England, or such persons as they should appoint, were to have power to receive and dispose of the monies received by the Society, "in such manner as s[illegible]best and principally conduce to the preaching and propagating of t[illegible]ospel among the Natives, and for maintenance of schools, and nurseries of learning, for the education of the children of the natives. MS. N. Eng. chap. lxxv. Bibliotheca Americ. 93. Hazard, Coll. i. 635. Morton, 143. Hoornbeek [De Conversione Indorum, 261.] says, the English parliament began to take measures for the promotion of this pious design so early as 17 March, 1647.

2 Belknap, Biog. i. 389, 390.

3 Hazard, Coll. ii. 127. It was in consideration of "the p[illegible] of the colonies, generally destitute of sufficient hands to carry on their necessary occupations," that the commissioners judged it expedient to take no part in this enterprize. They declared however, that, if any persons from any of the colonies should go to Delaware, and, without leave of the New Haven merchants, should seat themselves on any part of their land, or, in any respect, be injurious to them in their title and interest there, they would neither protect nor own them in such procedure. They, in fine, left the New Haven merchants their just liberty, to dispose of the land, which they had purchased in those parts, or to improve or plant it "as they should see cause." Ibid.

4 Chalmers, i. 330. See A. D. 1609 and 1673.

A body

A body of one thousand Iroquois, in March, suddenly attacked the Huron village of St. Ignatius, containing four hundred persons, all of whom, excepting three, they massacred [1].

John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts, died, aged sixty-three years [2]; and Thomas Shepard, minister of Cambridge, aged forty-four years [3].

Governor Endicot of Massachusetts and deputy governor Dudley, with the assistants, signed a declaration against men's wearing long hair, as unscriptural [4].

The complete establishment of the American church in all the Spanish settlements in South America, at this period, comprised one patriarch, six archbishops, thirty-two bishops, three hundred and forty-six prebends, two abbots, five royal chaplains, and eight hundred and forty convents [5].

The Jesuits, about this time, remonstrating at the court of Madrid against the immorality of the Spaniards, ascribing to this cause the failure of success in their missions; their remonstrance was listened to with attention. The sphere of their labours was marked out; an uncontrouled liberty was granted to them; and orders were given to the governors of the adjacent provinces, not to interfere, nor to suffer any Spaniard to enter within this pale, without licence from the fathers [6].

1 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 448.

2 Mather, Magnal. book ii. 8. Morton, 142. Belknap, Biog. ii. 337. The talents and virtues, the wealth and influence, of this eminent man, signally qualified him for the chief magistracy in an infant plantation, of which he was the father, as well as governor; and the same rare assemblage of qualifications would have enabled him to shine in a larger sphere, and more elevated situation.

3 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 57—68. Morton, 142. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 42—47. Mr. Shepard was an eminently pious man, an impressive preacher, and a very distinguished divine. As a writer on experimental religion, he was one of the most judicious, discriminating, and useful, that has ever appeared in New England.

4 Hutchinson, i. 152. "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of Ruffians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England, &c."

5 Robertson, iii. 409.

6 Europ. Settlements, i. 279, 280. The Jesuits agreed conditionally to pay a capitation tax, in proportion to their flock; and to send a certain number of their subjects to the king's works. Terms being thus settled, they gathered about 50 wandering families, which they united into a little township; and within a century their subjects amounted to 300,000 families, and could raise 60,000 armed men. Ibid.

1650.

Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New Netherlands, arriving at Hartford, demanded of the commissioners for the United Colonies a full surrender of the lands on Connecticut river. After a correspondence and an altercation of several days, the controversy was referred to arbitrators, who concluded on articles of agreement at Hartford [1].

The college at Cambridge was made a body corporate, by an act of the general court of Massachusetts; and received a charter, under the seal of the colony, by the name of "The President and Fellows of Harvard college [2]."

In the depth of winter, there broke out in Charlestown a terrible fire, which, blown from one building to another by a violent wind, consumed the fairest houses in the town [3].

There were now about forty churches in New England, and seven thousand seven hundred and fifty communicants [4].

On the island of Martha's Vineyard there were about forty families of Indians, who professed the Christian religion, and attended the religious instructions of Mr. Mayhew. The whole island had, in a manner, embraced Christianity,

1 Gov. Trumbull's MS. State and Origin of Connecticut. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlii. Hutchinson, i. 85, 159, 514. Hazard, Coll. ii. 170—173; 218—220, 252, 549—551. Trumbull, i. 197—199. The commissioners chose Mr. Bradstreet of Massachusetts, and Mr. Prince of Plymouth; the Dutch governor chose Thomas Willet and George Baxter. In regard to limits, it was agreed: That on Long Island a strait and direct line, run from the westermost part of Oyster Bay to the sea, shall be the bounds; the easterly part to belong to the English, and the westermost to the Dutch: and that the bounds on the main land begin at the west side of Greenwich bay, about four miles from Stamford, and run a northerly line 20 miles, and, beyond that distance, as it shall be agreed by the two governments of the Dutch and New Haven, provided the said line come not within 10 miles of Hudson's river. It was also agreed, that the Dutch should not build any house within six miles of the said line; the inhabitants of Greenwich to remain (till farther consideration) under the government of the Dutch. Another article of agreement was, that the Dutch should hold all the lands in Hartford, of which they were actually possessed; and all the residue, on both sides of Connecticut river, was to remain to the English there. These limits were to be strictly and inviolably observed until a full and final determination in Europe, by the mutual consent of England and Holland. Ibid. The articles of agreement are in the *three* last cited places of Hutchinson, Hazard, and Trumbull.

2 Hutchinson, i. 171. Neal, N. Eng. i. 297. The college was governed under this charter until 1685, when the colony charter was vacated. Hutchinson, ibid.

3 Wonderwork. Prov. 221.

4 Stiles' Christian Union, 116.

and

and adopted the English customs and manners, in their husbandry and other concerns [1].

The south part of the town of Barnstable in Massachusetts was, about this time, amicably purchased of Wianno and several other sachems [2].

Charles II. transmitted from Breda a new commission to Sir William Berkeley, as governor of Virginia, declaring his intention of ruling and ordering the colony according to the laws and statutes of England, which were to be established there. Thus, while that prince was not permitted to rule over England, he exercised the royal jurisdiction over Virginia [3].

The authority of the crown continuing to be acknowledged in Virginia, and in several of the West India islands, the parliament issued an ordinance, for prohibiting trade with Barbadoes, Virginia, Bermuda, and Antego [4].

The constitution of Maryland was established. A law was passed for settling the provincial assembly. It enacted, that those members, called by special writ, should form the Upper House; that those, chosen by the hundreds, should compose the Lower House; and that all bills, which should be passad by the two houses, and assented to by the governor, should be deemed the laws of the province, and have the same effect, as if the freemen were personally present. The colony was now divided into three countries, which contained eight hundreds. Laws were enacted for peopling Maryland. An order was made for the relief of the poor. Punishments were provided for various crimes. The fees of office were regulated. The interests of agriculture and commerce were encouraged. Public prosperity and private happiness were thus promoted by salutary laws, which were as prudently executed, as wisely planned [5].

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxxv.

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 15.

3 Chalmers, *i.* 122. Robertson, book ix. 110. For the prevention of *the rebellion of subjects*, or the invasion of enemies, the commission empowered the governor and council "to build castles and fortifications, at the expence of the planters."

4 Chalmers, i. 122, 128. In consequence of this ordinance, Massachusetts, the next year, passed an act against trade with those places, until their "compliance with the Commonwealth of England," or farther order of the General Court. Hazard, Coll. i. 553.

5 Chalmers, i. 220, 221. The constitution of Maryland continued above 120 years, until the revolutionary war. At the time of its adoption the most common and useful arts must have made but small progress in the colony; for the preceding year (1649) an order was passed, providing for *the* smith." Ibid.

Barbadoes, though settled but little more than twenty years, already contained more than fifty thousand whites, and a much greater number of blacks and Indian slaves [1].

The king of France granted the old French West India company his licence to sell Martinico, St. Lucia, Grenada, and the Grenadines, to Du Parquet, governor of Martinico; who purchased those islands for fifty thousand livres [2]. Resolved on an invasion of Grenada, Du Parquet collected upwards of two hundred hardy Frenchmen for the enterprize. On meeting unexpectedly with a kind reception from the natives, he affected a regard to moderation, and opened a treaty with the chief of the Charibes for the purchase of the territory. Having made the natives a few trifling presents [3], he considered the purchase as complete; established a colony in Grenada; built a fort for its protection; and left the government of the island to a kinsman, named Le Compte. A war soon after ensued, and the natives were exterminated [4].

The Caribbee isle of Anguila was now first settled by some English people [5].

The Spaniards of the garrison on the isle of St. Martin, unable to maintain themselves, dismantled the fort, and de-

1 Europ. Settlements, ii. 86. Univ. Hist. xli. 134, 137. It could muster 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse. Ibid. About this year, the planters in Barbadoes obtained the true secret of making sugars; by suffering the canes to ripen 15 months, instead of 12, and by boiling and curing them to a white consistence. After this discovery, the value of the lands on the island increased to such a degree, that land, which could have been previously purchased for 200*l.* cost afterward 7000*l.* Ibid.

2 Univ. Hist. xli. 226.

3 "Some knives and hatchets, and a large quantity of glass beads, beside two bottles of brandy for the chief himself!" Du Tertre, a French historian of the expedition, quoted by Edwards, Hist. W. Indies, i. 346. The French afterward "considered the refusal of the poor savages to confirm the agreement, as contumacy and rebellion."

4 Edwards, W. Indies, i. 345—348. Father Du Tertre says: "Forty of the Charibes were massacred on the spot. About 40 others, who had escaped the sword, ran toward a precipice, from whence they cast themselves headlong into the sea, and miserably perished. A beautiful young girl of 12 or 13 years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of dispute between two of our officers, each of them claiming her as his lawful prize; a third coming up, put an end to the contest, by shooting the girl through the head. The place from which these barbarians threw themselves into the sea, has been called ever since *le Morne des Sauteurs* [Leapers Hill."] The French, after massacring the natives, proceeded to massacre each other; and Du Parquet, having injured his fortune in planting the island, and supporting his authority, sold his property in the island, in 1657, to the count de Carillac for 30,000 crowns. Ibid. Univ. Hist. xli. 226.

5 Univ. Hist. xli. 230. Anderson, ii. 414; "whose posterity still hold it."

stroyed

stroyed all their houses and cisterns. The French and Dutch soon after, by accommodation, divided the island between them [1].

1651.

The parliament of England passed the famous Act of Navigation. It had been observed with concern, that the English merchants for several years past had usually freighted the Hollanders' shipping for bringing home their own merchandize, because their freight was at a lower rate than that of the English ships. For the same reason the Dutch ships were made use of even for importing American products from the English colonies into England. The English ships meanwhile lay rotting in the harbours; and the English mariners, for want of employments, went into the service of the Hollanders. These considerations, principally, induced the parliament to enact, "That no merchandize, either of Asia, Africa, or America, including also the English plantations there, should be imported into England in any but English ships, and belonging either to English or English plantation subjects, navigated also by an English commander, and three-fourths of the sailors to be Englishmen; excepting such merchandize, as should be imported directly from the original place of their growth or manufacture in Europe solely: and that no fish should thenceforward be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported thence to foreign parts, nor even from one of their own home ports, but what should be caught by their own fishers only [2]."

The church at Malden having called a minister to the pastoral office, without, if not against, the consent and approbation of neighbouring churches and allowance of the magistrates, the general court imposed a fine on all, who were concerned in the transaction [3]; and soon after passed an order, that no minister should be called to office, without

1 Univ. Hist. xli. 263. Anderson, ii. 412.

2 Anderson, ii. 415, 416. Dr. Robertson, [book ix. 111.] assigns a different reason for this act: "Not satisfied with taking measures to subject the colonies, the commonwealth turned its attention towards the most effectual mode of retaining them in dependence on the parent state, and of securing to it the benefit of their increasing commerce."

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lx. The procedure of Malden was "contrary to the approved practice of the country." The court, according to Hubbard (ib.), "passed an handsome fine or mulct." The people of Malden acknowledged their miscarriage. Ibid.

the approbation of some of the magistrates, as well as the neighbouring churches [1].

A sumptuary law was passed this year by the legislature of Massachusetts [2].

The general court of Massachusetts having, at the motion of the reverend John Eliot, granted the land at Natick to the natives; a number of them combined for the purpose of government [3].

A

1 Ibid. It was now left to the power of every county court throughout the jurisdiction, to make sufficient provision for the maintenance of the ministry in the respective towns of the colony; and to rectify any defect, "on complaint of any such, for want of means whereby comfortably to subsist." Ibid.

2 Massachusetts Laws. The law itself, and the language in which it is expressed, are curious. The court, lamenting the inefficacy of former "Declarations and Orders against excess of apparel both of men and women," proceed to observe: "We cannot but to our grief take notice, that intolerable excess and bravery hath crept in upon us, and especially among people of mean condition, to the dishonour of God, the scandal of our profession, the consumption of estates, and altogether unsuitable to our poverty." They "acknowledge it to be a matter of much difficulty, in regard of the blindness of men's minds, and the stubborness of their wills, to set down exact rules to confine all sorts of persons;" yet "cannot but account it their duty, to commend unto all the sober and moderate use of those blessings," &c. The court proceed to order, that no person, whose visible estate shall not exceed the true and indifferent sum of 200*l.* shall wear any gold or silver lace, or gold and silver buttons, or any bone lace above two shillings per yard, or silk hoods or scarves, on the penalty of 10 shillings for every such offence. The law authorizes and requires the select men of every town to take notice of the apparel of any of the inhabitants, and to assess such persons, as "they shall judge to exceed their rankes and abilities, in the costliness or fashion of their apparel in any respect, especially in the wearing of ribbands and great boots," at 200*l.* estates, according to the proportion, which such men use to pay to whom such apparel is suitable and allowed. An exception however is made in favour of public officers and their families, and of those, "whose education and employment have been above the ordinary degree, or whose estates have been considerable, though now decayed." We smile at the simplicity of our forefathers; but the mother country had set an example of similar measures, effected in a more *summary* manner. In the reign of queen Elizabeth, "began in England long tucks and rapiers," which succeeded the sword and buckler; "and he was held the greatest gallant, that had the deepest ruffe, and longest rapier. The offence unto the eye of the one, and the hurt unto the life of the subject, that came by the other, caused her majesty to make proclamation against them both, and to place selected grave citizens at every gate to cut the ruffes, and breake the rapiers points, of all passengers that exceeded a yeard in length of their rapiers, and a nayle of a yeard in depth of their ruffes." Stow, Chron. 869.

3 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 197. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 180. Mr. Eliot advised them to adopt the form of government, proposed by Jethro to Moses

A forge iron manufacture was set up at Raynham in Massachusetts, a town recently settled [1].

The town of Salem voted, to build a fort on the south east point of Winter Island; toward which the general court gave one hundred pounds [2].

The assembly of Connecticut passed an act to encourage the discovery of mines [3]. The settlement of the towns of Norwalk and Middletown in Connecticut commenced about this time [4].

The Dutch erected a trading house, rather than a fortification, on a low point of land [5], which commanded the Delaware. Hudde, left to rule and traffic there, purchased of the Minquaas the lands on the western shore of the Delaware, from Christiana creek to the river of Bomptook; which was the earliest Indian purchase, made there by the Dutch. The Swedes, observing this conduct of their rivals, protested against it, with little effect.

Moses. Accordingly on the 6th of August 1651 about one hundred of them met together, and chose one ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifties, and ten rulers of tens. After this transaction, they entered into covenant. See the form of the covenant, ibid.

1 Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 170. It was set up by James and Henry Leonard, who came to this town in 1652, "which was about two years after the first settlers had planted themselves upon this spot." Ibid. *This article ought to stand in A. D.* 1652.

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 228. "The first fort was on Beverly side, and erected by Conant's men before Endicot arrived. It was called Darbie or Derby fort." Ibid. *This article ought to stand in A. D.* 1652.

3 Trumbull, i. 201. This act was passed on the motion of John Winthrop, afterward governor of Connecticut, who judged there were mines and minerals in the colony, which might be improved to great advantage. See the entire act, ibid. The Winthrops were men of inquisitive minds, and of philosophical learning. John Winthrop (son of the abovenamed), who also was governor of Connecticut, sent a specimen of a non-descript mineral to Sir Hans Sloane. Dr. Ramsay of Edinburgh, a member of the Royal Society, informs me, that he saw *that specimen* in the British Museum; that it was denominated COLUMBIUM; and that it attracted much notice. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences has been some time endeavouring to make farther discoveries of this mineral; but as hitherto ascertained the place merely, where the original specimen was procured, formerly called by the natives Nant-neague. It is about three miles from New London.

4 Ibid. i. 202. The Indian name of the place, where Middletown was settled, was Mattabeseck. The principal planters were from England, Hartford, and Wethersfield. There was a considerable accession from Rowley, Chelmsford, and Woburn, in Massachusetts. The legislature named the town in 1653; 20 years after, the number of housholders was 52. Ibid.

5 Near where Newcastle now stands. Chalmers.

Risingh however, the Swedish governor, took the place by force the subsequent year, and named it Fort Casimir[1].

1652.

Sir George Ayscue, who had been appointed commander of the parliament's forces for the reduction of Barbadoes, sent captain Denis[2], pursuant to instructions, with a small squadron of men of war, to Virginia, to reduce to obedience that colony; which, last of all the king's dominions, submitted to the government of the Protector[3].

The inhabitants of the Province of Maine were, by their own request, taken under the protection of the colony of Massachusetts[4]. Commissioners, appointed by the general court of that colony, repairing to Kittery and Agamenticus, summoned the inhabitants to appear before them, and received their submission. Fifty persons then took the oath of freemen[5]. Agamenticus was now named York[6]. The province was made a county, by the name of Yorkshire;

1 Chalmers, i. 632. Having strengthened and enlarged that fort, he soon after, on the same river, five miles higher, erected Fort Christiana, in honour of his queen. Ibid.

2 This expedition to Virginia was *after* the reduction of Barbadoes and the other Carribbee islands. Robertson, book ix. 111. Brit. Emp. iii. 177. Univ. Hist. xli. 140—142. Ayscue arrived at Barbadoes with the fleet 16 October, 1651, "and succeeded at length in bringing the island to capitulate." Edwards, W. Indies, i. 336.

3 Keith, 147. Beverly, 81. Univ. Hist. xli. 482. Governor Berkeley took arms, to oppose the formidable armament on its entrance into the Chesepeak; but the contest was short. His bravery however procured favourable terms to the colony. A general indemnity for all past offences was granted; and the Virginian colonists were admitted to all the rights of citizens. Robertson, book ix. 111. The Articles of agreement, and the Act of indemnity, both dated 12 March, 1651, are in Jefferson, Virg. under Query XIII. and Hazard, Coll. i. 560—564. The true date, according to the *present* reckoning, is 1652. The Instructions to Denis and others, signed by President Bradshaw at *Whitehall*, are dated 9 Sept. 1651. Those Instructions are in Hazard, Coll. i. 550—558.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lviii. Belknap, Biog. i. 300. Massachusetts claimed the jurisdiction of that Province, as lying within the limits of its charter of 1628. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 8. Hutchinson, i. 177.

5 Hazard, Coll. i. 575, where is the Return, made by the Commissioners, taken from the Records of the county of York. The commissioners were Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Symonds, Thomas Wiggin, and Brian Pendleton. The names of the freemen are also in Hazard. Ibid.

6 Hazard, i. 576, where may be seen the PRIVILEGES, granted to that town by the Commissioners.

and

and the towns, from this time, sent deputies to the general court at Boston [1].

The first mint was erected in New England for coining money [2].

To encourage the staple commodity of Virginia, the English parliament passed an act, which gave legal force to the injunctions of James and Charles against planting tobacco in England [3].

The government of Maryland was taken out of the hands of lord Baltimore, for disloyalty to the ruling powers in England, and settled in the hands of the parliament [4].

By an order of the council of state for the commonwealth of England, the government of Rhode Island was suspended; but that colony, taking advantage of the distractions, which soon after ensued in England, resumed its government, and enjoyed it, without farther interruption, until the Restoration [5].

John Cotton, minister of the first church in Boston, who has been styled the patriarch of New England, died, in the sixty-eighth year of his age [6].

1 Hutchinson, i. 177. The towns of Wells, Cape Porpus, and Saco, did not subscribe a declaration of their submission until the *next* year (5 July, 1653). The villages, lying still farther eastward, appear not to have surrendered their independence until 1658. Chalmers, i. 480, 499, 501.

2 Hutchinson, i. 178. Chalmers, i. 182. The money coined was in shillings, six pences, and three pences. The law enacted, that "Massachusetts and a tree in the centre be on the one side; and New England and the year of our Lord, and the figure XII. VI. III. according to the value of each piece, be on the other side." Massachusetts Laws. The several coins had N. E. on one side, and the number denoting the number of pence, with the year 1652, on the other. This date was never altered, though more coin was stamped annually for 30 years. Hutchinson, Coll. 380.

3 Keith, 148. Robertson, book ix. 112.

4 Hazard, Coll. i. 626. In 1654 it was settled in the hands of the Protector. Ibid. For the reasons of this procedure, with the evidences, that "the province of Maryland had more need of reducing than any plantation in America," see ibid. 621—630.

5 Chalmers, i. 274. Douglass, ii. 81.

6 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 14—31. Hutchinson, i. 179. He is described by Hubbard [MS. N. Eng. chap. lxi.], as a man "of excellent learning, profound judgment, eminent gravity, Christian candour, and sweet temper of spirit."

1653.

The commissioners of the United Colonies, apprehensive of hostilities with the Dutch, concluded provisionally, that five hundred men should be the number raised out of the four jurisdictions [1]. On this occasion, Plymouth colony appointed a council of war, and agreed on several military orders. In May, the council of war issued warrants in the name of the state of England, for pressing sixty men, the number required of that colony, on condition of the need of them, to be taken out of the several towns within the jurisdiction of Plymouth; and Miles Standish was appointed their captain [2].

The commissioners of the colonies, finding it necessary to make war with Ninnigret [3] the Niantick sachem, concluded on that measure; and voted, that two hundred and fifty foot soldiers, officers and commanders included, be immediately raised by the several colonies [4].

To

1 Hazard, Coll. ii 231.

Massachusetts was to send (commanders included)	335
Plymouth	60
Connecticut	63
New Haven	42
	500

"All the commissioners, excepting those of Massachusetts, were of opinion, that there had been a horrid and execrable plot, concerted by the Dutch governor and the Indians, for the destruction of the English colonies." Trumbull, i. 209.

2 Hazard, Coll. i. 580, 581. The towns in Plymouth jurisdiction were to raise men in the following proportions:

Plymouth	7	Yarmouth	6
Duxborough	6	Barnstable	6
Scituate	9	Marshfield	6
Sandwich	6	Rehoboth	6
Taunton	5	Eastham	3

3 It appeared, that he had spent the winter at Manhattan, with Stuyvesant, on the business of the conspiracy. Trumbull, i. 209.

4 Hazard, Coll. ii. 293, 295. The 250. men were to be raised by the colonies in a due proportion, as was agreed on at the first meeting of the commissioners at Boston this year.

Massachusetts was to raise and send	166
Plymouth	30
Connecticut	33
New Haven	21

Massachusetts, not satisfied with the reasons for the war, declined raising her quota. The general court of that colony resolved, that no determination

To clear the title of Massachusetts to the province of Maine, skilful mathematicians were ordered to run the north line of the Massachusetts patent according to the late interpretation of its bounds; and it was run, agreeably to that order, in October 1.

The first fire in Boston, recorded by the early historians, was in this year 2.

The incursions of the Iroquois having obliged M. de Maisonneuve, governor of Montreal, to repair to France for fresh recruits, he returned with one hundred men. Margaret Bourgeois, a respectable lady, who afterward instituted the order of the Daughters of the Congregation, now came with him to Montreal 3.

Thomas Dudley, formerly governor of Massachusetts, and a principal founder of that colony, died, aged seventy-seven years 4.

tion of the commissioners, though they should all agree, should bind the general court to join in an offensive war, which should appear to such court to be unjust. This declaration gave great uneasiness to the sister colonies, and nearly effected a dissolution of their union. Trumbull, i. 215, 216. See Hazard, Coll. ii. 288—295. Hutchinson, i. 179—182.

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lviii. Hazard, Coll. i. 591.

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 269. Josselyn, [Voy. 267, N. Eng. Rar. 111.] calls it "the great fire;" but no *particulars* of it can be found.

3 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 312, 313. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 454. Charlevoix estimates M. Bourgeois as a greater acquisition to the colony, than all the soldiers. "Mais la plus heureuse acquisition, qu'il fit dans ce voyage, fut celle d' une vertueuse Fille, &c... qui à depuis rendu son nom cher et respectable à toute la colonie par ses éminentes vertus, &c."

4 Morton, 150. Hubbard. MS. N. Eng. chap. lxi. Hutchinson, i. 183. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 11. On Mr. Hooper's removal to Hartford, Mr. Dud- removed from Newtown to Ipswich; and afterward to Roxbury, where he died. He was a man of sound judgment, of inflexible integrity, of public spirit, and of strict and exemplary piety. His intolerance toward religious sectaries derives some apology from the age in which he lived; an age, not thoroughly acquainted with the true principles of civil and religious liberty. With strong passions, he was still placable and generous. One fact is at once illustrative of these traits of his character, and of *the patriarchal* kind of government, exercised in Massachusetts, during the infancy of that colony. Governor Winthrop, having led governor Dudley to expect, that he would settle with him at Newtown [See p. 216 of *this* volume]; his removal to Boston gave Dudley great dissatisfaction. "The ministers," being appealed to on this occasion, "for an end of the difference ordered, that the governor should procure them a minister at Newtown and contribute some to his maintenance for a time; or if he could not by the spring effect that, then to give the deputy towards his charges in building there 20 *l.*" The governor promised compliance; but, on making payment of that sum, Dudley returned it to him, with strong professions of personal estimation. Winthrop, Journ. 48. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 11.

1654.

The colony of Connecticut receiving an order from the parliament, requiring, that the Dutch should be treated, in all respects, as the declared enemies of England; the general court of that colony passed an act, sequestering the Dutch house, lands, and property of all kinds, at Hartford, for the benefit of the commonwealth [1].

Although the colony of New Haven could not effectually engage the confederate colonies in a war against the Dutch; yet some of the principal persons of the colony, going this year to England, prevailed so far with those in power there, as to obtain a commission for certain ships and soldiers, to seize the Dutch plantation at New Netherlands, for the use of the English. A fleet sailed from England for that purpose; but the voyage was long, and news of a peace, concluded between the States of Holland and the powers in England, reached America before the arrival of the fleet. The commander in chief, hence induced to turn his forces, with those raised in Massachusetts, into another direction, attacked the French forts about St. John's river, and reduced them, and the adjacent places [2], under the power of the English [3]. The

1 Trumbull, i. 225. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. A point of land, which formed part of their possessions, is still called Dutch Point. Ibid.

2 Penobscot, &c. The English "met with no great resistance." Hutchinson, i. 183. All the country from Penobscot to Port Royal was conquered at this time. Sullivan, 158. Port Royal capitulated in August. Chalmers, i. 187. The French pretended, that they had purchased the English right at the price of 5000 *l.* a price, which, if there was such an agreement, was never paid. The conquered country was confirmed to England the following year. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 256.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lix. Intelligence of the peace, signed 5 April, was received 23 June. Hazard, Coll. i. 589. A short time before this intelligence arrived, Massachusetts had consented to the raising of troops for an expedition against the Dutch; *but it was not until* Cromwell, Lord Protector, had signed to them his *pleasure that it should be* done. The general court, having received a letter from his highness "declare (9 June), that though they understand that this colony is not in such a capacity as may be apprehended to send forth such numbers of men, as might vigorously assist in that undertaking, yet do freely consent and give liberty to his Highness's commissioners major Robert Sedgwick and captain John Leveret to raise within our jurisdiction the number of 500 volunteers furnished with all necessary accommodations to assist them in their enterprize against the Dutch; provided the persons be free from legal engagements." Hazard, i. 587. By "legal engagements," Hutchinson, [i. 183.] supposes, must be intended "apprenticeship and other servitude, as well as processes from courts," &c. For "Proceedings of

The peace with the Dutch, with "the hopeful establishment of government in England," occasioned a public thanksgiving in Massachusetts [1].

Massachusetts not joining her confederates in a war against Ninnigret, that sachem prosecuted his war with the Long Island Indians, who had put themselves under the protection of the English [2]. The commissioners in September sent a messenger to him, demanding his appearance at Hartford, where they were convened, and the payment of tribute long due, for the Pequots under him; but he refused to appear, and sent them a spirited independent answer. Determining therefore on a war with him, they ordered two hundred and seventy infantry, and forty horsemen, to be raised [3]. Orders were given that twenty horses from Massachusetts, twenty-four men from Connecticut, and sixteen from New Haven, should be immediately dispatched into the Nehantick country. The commissioners nominated three men to the chief command, leaving the appointment to Massachusetts; but the general court of that colony, disregarding the nomination, appointed major Simon Willard. The commissioners gave him a commission, to command the troops, with instructions to proceed with such of them, as should be found at the place of rendezvous, by the thirteenth of October, directly to Ninnigret's quarters, and demand of him the Pequots, who had been put under him, and the tribute, that was still due; also a cessation of hostilities with the Islanders. If Ninnigret should not comply with these demands, the instructions were, to subdue him. Willard marched with his men into the Narraganset country; and, finding that Ninnigret with his men had fled into a swamp, fourteen or fifteen miles distant from the army, returned home, without attempting to injure the enemy. About one hundred Pequots, who had been left with the Narragansetts ever since the Pequot war, voluntarily came off with the army,

[1] "The council of war at Plymouth," on the same subject, see Hazard, Coll. i. 587—590.

[2] Hutchinson, i. 183. The thanksgiving was 20 September.

[3] Trumbull, i. 220. He had hired as auxiliaries, the Mohawks, Pocomtocks, and Wampanoags. It was supposed, that his design was, to destroy the Long Island Indians, and the Moheagans; but a collection of such a number of Indians from various quarters would have endangered the general peace of the country. Ibid.

Massachusetts was to raise the 40 horsemen, and 153 footmen; Connecticut, 45; and New Haven, 31. Trumbull, i. 231.

and

and put themselves under the protection and government of the English [1].

New Haven colony, from its first settlement, attended to the interests of learning, as well as to those of religion and and civil polity. Beside establishing a ministry in each town by law, to be supported by the inhabitants, it established schools in each town, for common education; and a colony grammar school, to prepare youth for college. This year the reverend Mr. Davenport brought forward the institution of a college, to which the town of New Haven made a donation of lands [2].

The whole number of ratable persons in the colony of Connecticut, this year, was seven hundred and seventy-five; and the grand list was seventy-nine thousand and seventy-three pounds [3].

Thomas Prince having been appointed by the general court of Plymouth colony, the preceding year, to settle a government at Kennebeck; he now issued a warrant, directed to the marshal of New Plymouth, requiring the inhabitants on the river Kennebeck to make their personal appearance at Merry Meeting on the twenty-third of May. The people generally assembled; and sixteen took the oath of fidelity

1 Hutchinson, i. 185—187. Trumbull, i. 229—232. Trumbull, (ibid.) says, Ninnigret had left country, corn, and wigwams, without defence, and they might have been laid waste, without loss or danger. The commissioners were entirely dissatisfied with the conduct of the commander of the expedition; but historians ascribe the defeat of their design to the secret intrigue of Massachusetts. Hutchinson, the historian of that colony (ut supra), says "this was the second time of their preventing a general war, contrary to the minds of six of the commissioners of the other colonies."

2 Pres. Stiles' Hist. Judges of king Charles I. p. 40. On a donation to this college of perhaps 400 *l.* or 500 *l.* sterling, by governor Hopkins, who died at London in 1656, the general assembly erected the colony school into a college for teaching "the three learned languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew;" and for the education of youth in good literature, to fit them for public service in church and commonwealth;" and settled 60 *l.* year out of the colony treasury on the preceptor or rector, beside the sum from New Haven school, with 100 *l.* for a library. Mr. Davenport had the care of the colony school several years; but in 1660 the reverend Mr. Peck was established in it, according to the act of assembly, and taught the learned languages and the sciences. The convulsions of the times however in 1664, and the want of adequate support, caused this college to terminate in a public grammar school; which is still preserved, and holds the Hopkins funds, and the other endowments of college estates, to this day. Yale College was not built on this foundation. Ibid.—The general court of Connecticut in 1653 ordered, that 20 *l.* be paid to the support of a fellowship in Harvard college. Trumbull, i. 229.

3 Trumbull, i. 232. The number and list of each town are subjoined; Hartford

fidelity to the State of England and to the present government of Plymouth; and fifteen laws were established for their government [1].

John Eliot, minister of Roxbury, having previously received encouragement from the general court of Massachusetts to proceed in preaching the gospel to the natives, now obtained several parcels of land for those Indians, who should give any just hope of their embracing the Christian religion [2].

Colonel Wood, living at the falls of James river in Virginia, sent suitable persons on an enterprize of discovery. Having passed the Alleghany mountains, they entered the country of the Ohio, and, in ten years, discovered several branches of that river, and of the Missisippi [3].

The Iroquois about this time so effectually exteminated the Eries, that, without the great lake, on the borders of which they were situated, and which still bears their name, we should have no evidence of their existence [4].

John Haynes, governor of Connecticut, died [5].

Towns.	Persons.	Estates.
Hartford	177	£19,600
Windsor	165	15,833
Wethersfield	113	12,602
Fairfield	94	8,634
Saybrook	53	4,437
Stratford	72	7,958
Farmington	46	5,519
Middletown	31	2,172
Norwalk	24	2,309
	775	79,073

1 Hazard, Coll. i. 583—586, from Plymouth Records.

2 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lviii. Hubbard (ib.) mentions lands at Hasanameset, "a place in the woods beyond Medfield and Mendon," and at Punicapoag, beyond Dorchester, beside Natick.

3 Brit. Emp. iii. 195. Adair, 308.

4 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 322. This historian calls them "la nation des Eriez, ou *du Chat*." See Wynne, i. 334.

5 Trumbull, i. 223, 224. He was distinguished for his abilities, prudence, and piety; and in his death the colony sustained a great loss. He was chosen governor of Massachusetts in 1635, before his removal to Connecticut; and was considered as "not inferior to governor Winthrop." On his removal (1636,) he was chosen governor of Connecticut; and he was continued in that office, when the constitution would permit, until his death. Ibid.

1655.

Toward the close of the preceding year Cromwell had fitted out a fleet of thirty sail, under vice admiral Penn, with land forces commanded by general Venables, for the conquest of Hispaniola. Arriving at that island on the thirteenth of April, they were repulsed by the Spaniards, with great loss. On the second of May they landed on Jamaica, and laid siege to St. Jago, which, at length capitulated. The whole island was soon reduced [1]; and has ever since remained in the hands of the English.

Governor Eaton had, by desire, compiled a code of laws for the colony of New Haven. These laws, having been examined and approved by the ministers of the jurisdiction, were presented to the general court, which ordered that five hundred copies should be printed [2].

The general court of Massachusetts, in consideration of the straits of the colony in the article of clothing, passed an act of assessment on spining [3].

This year Mrs. Ann Hibbins of Boston was tried and condemned for witchcraft; and the next year was executed [4].

An epidemical distemper similar to that of 1647, prevailed through New England [5].

1 Univ. Hist. xli. 349. Wynne, ii. 444, 445. Cromwell's commission to general Venables is in Hazard, Coll. i. 592—594. Univ. Hist. [xli. 144. 349.] says, that the fleet, when it sailed from England, had at least 7000 land troops, a great part of which was composed of Cromwell's veterans; and that Barbadoes afterward furnished 3500 soldiers. Salmon [Chron. Hist. i. 162.] says, the combined forces consisted of 9000 men. Venables was suspected of an attachment to the royal party; and was afterward instrumental in restoring Charles II. He and Penn, on their return from the W. Indies, were sent to the tower by the protector; but their conquest was of greater importance than Cromwell then imagined. He gave orders however to support it; and Jamaica was the chief acquisition, which the English owe to his enterprizing spirit. Allen, Hist. Eng. 359.

2 Trumbull, i. 235. They were printed in England.

3 Massachusetts Laws. The law required, "that all hands, not necessarily employed on other occasions, as women, boys, and girls," should "spin according to their skill and ability;" and authorized the select men in every town, to "consider the condition and capacity of every family and assess them" accordingly, "at one or more spinners." See p. 2[illegible]

4 Hutchinson, i. 188. The second instance in N. England.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxi. Hutchinson, i. 190. Of this disease died Nathaniel Rogers, a very respectable minister of Ipswich, a descendant of the celebrated John Rogers, who suffered martyrdom in Queen Mary's reign. Ibid. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 104—109.

T[illegible]

The Virginian legislature changed the Spanish piece of eight from six shillings, and established it at five shillings sterling, as the standard of its currency [1].

The Swedes at the Delaware were extirpated by the Dutch, who became possessed of the west side of Delaware bay [2]. The fortress of Casimir was now denominated Niewer Amstel by the Dutch; by the English, Newcastle; and a village naturally arose under its walls [3].

The Onondagas sent deputies to Quebec, accompanied by a large number of their nation, to solicit missionaries of the French. Missionaries were accordingly sent to that tribe of natives; and several of the heads of it became their proselytes [4].

Edward Winslow, distinguished in the annals of Plymouth colony, died on board the English fleet in the West Indies, in the sixty-first year of his age [5].

1 Jefferson, Virg. Query xxi. See p. 273 of this volume.

2 Now called the Three Lower Counties. Smith, N. York, 6.

3 Smith, N. York, ibid. Chalmers, i. 633. The Dutch W. India company, feeling the blow, struck by the Swedes, had applied for aid to the city of Amsterdam; and, with this alliance, sent an armament from Manhattan, under the command of Stuyvesant, the governor. Ib. Stuyvesant arrived at the Delaware 9 September, and soon after anchored before Fort Casimir, and landed his troops. This fort, commanded by Suen Scutz, surrendered 16 September, on articles of capitulation. The whole strength of the place consisted of 4 cannon (14 pounders,) 5 swivels, and some small arms; all of which were delivered to the conquered. Fort Christiana, commanded by Risingh, surrendered to Stuyvesant 25 September. About 30 Swedes took the oath of fidelity to the States General; the rest, with a few exceptions, went to Sweden. Smith, N. York, 6.

4 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 457, 458. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 320.

5 Morton, 153. Hutchinson, i. 187. Cromwell appointed three commissioners to superintend and direct the operations of Penn and Venables in their expedition to the W. Indies, of whom Winslow, then in England, was chief. His reputation was so great, and he found so much employment that he had never returned home after his departure as agent in 1646. The commanders disagreed in their tempers and views; and the commissioners could not controul them. Winslow participated the chagrin of the [illegible]; but not the pleasure of the subsequent victory. In the passage [illegible] Hispaniola and Jamaica, the heat of the climate threw him into a [illegible] which aggravated by his dejection, terminatad his life. Belknap, ii. 281—309. His actions form his best eulogium. In New En[illegible], his name will never be forgotten. His portrait, an excellent piece [illegible]nting, is in possession of Dr. Josiah Winslow, who inherits the old [illegible] estate, called Careswell farm, at Marshfield. The eye is black and [illegible]ssive, and the whole countenance very interesting. The portrait is [illegible] with whiskers. Josiah Winslow, son of Edward (also governor of [illegible]th colony,) is drawn without them. "Beards were left off early [illegible] England, and about the same time they were in Old. Leveret is [illegible] governor, who is painted without a beard. He laid it aside in [illegible]ell's court." Hutchinson, i. 153.

1656.

The Quakers, at their first appearance in New England, were considered equally hostile to civil order and to Christian truth. The legislature of Massachusetts therefore passed sentence of banishment on twelve of that sect, the whole number then in the colony [1].

Oliver Cromwell, protector, made proposals to the colony of Massachusetts for the removal of some of its inhabitants to Jamaica; but the general court very respectfully declined compliance [2].

A township was granted at Shashin, which was called Billerica; and another, above Concord, called Groton [3].

General Daniel Gookin of Cambridge was the first English magistrate, chosen to be ruler of the praying Indians in Massachusetts [4].

Cromwell granted, under the great seal of England, to Charles Saint Etienne, William Crown, and Thomas Temple for ever, the territory denominated Acadie, and part of the country commonly called Nova Scotia, extending along the coast to Pentagoet and to the river St. George. It was erected into a province, independent of New England and of his other dominions, and the three grantees were appointed its hereditary governors [5].

New

1 Hutchinson, i. 197. Neal, N. Eng. i. 311. Hazard, i. 630—632, where the act is entire. An act was passed, laying a penalty of a 100*l.* on the master of any vessel, who should bring a known quaker into any part of the colony; and requiring him to give security to carry him back again, the quaker to be immediately sent to the house of correction, to receive twenty stripes, and be kept to hard labour until transportation. A penalty was enacted of 5*l.* for importing, and the same for dispersing or concealing quaker's books: and for defending the doctrines of their hav 40 shillings for the first offence; 4*l.* for the second; and for the nex commitment to the house of correction, "till there be a convenient passage for them to be sent out of the land." Another severe law was the next year (1657) against bringing quakers into the jurisdiction harbouring them in it. See Hutchinson, *i.* 198. Th is erro Hazard, Coll. ii. 554. See A. D. 1646, p. 281 of this volume, when quakers are noticed; but that article seems to have been inserte *years* too soon. If that be an error, it is copied from the printed and from Hazard's Collections, both of which *give that date*. Chal [i. 190.] says, "the *first* quakers who appeared in New England, rived from Barbadoes in July, 1656."

2 The Letter of the general court to Cromwell is in Hutchinson, i. 192, and Hazard, Coll. i. 638.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lviii.

4 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 177.

5 Chalmers, i. 187. Hazard, Coll. i. 616—619, from Memoires de l' Amerique.

New Amsterdam, afterward called New York, was laid out in several small streets [1].

An insurrection was raised in Maryland by Josias Fendal, a man of restless intrigue, which greatly distressed the province, and added to the burden of its impositions [2].

Miles Standish, the hero of New England, died at Duxborough, at an advanced age [3].

1657.

The governor and council of Plymouth, about this time, hearing that Alexander, son and successor of Masassoit, was conspiring with the Narragansets against the English, sent for him to the court. Major Winslow, with eight or ten men, surprizing him, and requiring his attendance, he was persuaded by one of his own chief counsellors to go to the governor's house; but his indignation at the surprisal threw him into a fever. On his promise to come back to Plymouth, if he should recover, and, in the mean time, to send his son as a hostage, he had leave to return; but he died before he reached home [4].

The Indians at Ponkipog having sold all their land, the town of Dorchester, at the request of the reverend John Eliot of Roxbury, empowered four persons to lay out a

Amerique. "Thus, for the first time, was introduced that confusion with regard to Acadie and Nova Scotia, which so perplexed statesmen in aftertimes, by considering those as two different countries, that were in truth the same; the former containing the latter and more, and Acadie advancing westward till it met with the settlements of New England. For it ought always to be remembered, that the southern boundary of Acadie, as established by the grant of Henry IV. in 1603, was the 40th degree of north latitude; that the southwestern limits of Nova Scotia, as appointed by the patent of James I. in 1621, was the river St. Croix. And thus was the stream of St. George now affixed as the outmost extent south towards the south-west." Ibid. 188.

[1] Smith, New York, 22.

[2] Chalmers, i. 224.

[3] Morton, 155. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxii. Belknap, Biog. ii. Coll. Hist. Soc. ii. 4. Hubbard (ut supra) says, he was allied to the house of Standish in Lancashire, and inherited some of the virtues of that honourable family as well as the name. In the military annals of Plymouth he stands pre-eminently distinguished. Dr. Belknap, [Biog. 385] says, after the encounter at Mount Wollaston in 1628, we have no particular account of him. We find however, that, so late as 1653, he was placed at the head of the troops, provisionally raised by Plymouth colony, and that he was chosen one of the assistants of that colony, as long as he lived. His sword is preserved in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[4] Hubbard, Ind. War, 49, 50.

plantation at Ponkipog, not exceeding six thousand acres of land, and gave that tract for the exclusive use and benefit of the Indians [1].

Massachusetts legislature granted a licence to certain persons, to supply the eastern Indians with arms and ammunition for hunting, on paying an acknowlegement to the public treasury [2].

A ship, with many worthy passengers was lost in a voyage from Boston to England [3].

Several gentlemen on Rhode Island and other associates made the Petaquamscut purchase of the chief sachems of the Narraganset country. The island of Canonicut was also purchased of the Indians by William Coddington, Benedict Arnold, and others [4].

The question of enlarging the subjects of baptism having been much agitated, the magistrates of Connecticut had, the last year, sent several of their number to Massachusetts for consultation. The magistrates of both these jurisdictions united in calling together several of the ablest ministers of each colony, and recommended to their consideration several inquiries on the disputed subject. Twenty-six ministers met at Boston in June; and the result of their disputation was presented to the magistrates of each jurisdiction, and afterwards printed [5].

William Bradford, governor of Plymouth [6], Theophilus

1 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 100; ii. 9. Ponkipog (now Stoughton) was then within the limits of Dorchester.

2 Belknap, N. Hamp. i. 160.

3 Morton, 163. Among the passengers lost was Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun. who had been the principal instrument in the conversion of the natives on Martha's Vineyard. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxii.

4 Callender, 39. Brit. Emp. ii. 135, 148. Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 217. The smaller islands had been purchased before.

5 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xli. lxiii. The title of it was "A dis[illegible] tation concerning church members and their children, in answer to [illegible] Questions."

6 Morton, 156. Hutchinson, i. 206. Gov. Bradford, at the time of his death, was in the LXIXth year of his age. Piety, wisdom, and integrity, were prominent traits of his character. Though he had a learned education, he read and wrote much. He very assiduously studied the Hebrew language; the French and Dutch languages were familiar to him; and he had considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek. From the time of his first election in 1621, he was annually chosen governor, as long as he lived, excepting three years. See Belknap, Biog. ii. 217—251. Hubbard, [MS. N. Eng. chap. lxii.] says, "he was the very prop and glory of Plymouth colony during all the whole series of changes that passed over it."

Eaton,

Eaton, governor of New Haven [1], and Edward Hopkins, formerly governor of Connecticut, died this year [2].

1658.

A considerable settlement was made this year between Mistic and Pawcatuck rivers, by several families from Massachusetts [3]. The settlers, finding that there was a contro-

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xlii. Gov. Eaton, died 7 January, Ætat. LXVII. For several years he had formerly been an agent for the king of England, at the court of Denmark. He was one of the original patentees of Massachusetts, and soon after his arrival was chosen one of the magistrates of the colony. On the settlement of New Haven he was chosen governor of that colony; and was annually re-elected until his death. In private life he was very amiable; his public character was distinguished for integrity and dignity, wisdom and piety. Trumbull, i. 240.

2 Trumbull, i. 241, 242. He was governor several years, and highly esteemed, as a wise and upright magistrate, and as a man of exemplary piety and extensive charity. Having occasion to go to England, he was there chosen first warden of the English fleet; then commissioner of the admiralty and navy; and finally a member of parliament. These unexpected preferments induced him to send to N. England for his family, and to spend the remainder of his days in his native country, where he died, Ætat. LVIII. He gave 5000*l.* out of his estate in England, "for the upholding and promoting of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, in those parts of the earth;" which donation was considered as made to Harvard College, and the grammar school in Cambridge, and, by virtue of a decree in chancery, was paid in 1710. The money has been laid out in real estate in a township in Massachusetts, named, in honour of the donor, Hopkinton. The legislature of Massachusetts has made such addition to the fund, that six bachelors may now reside at Harvard College, and seven boys be instructed at the grammar school. Mr. Hopkins' whole estate in New England, estimated at about 1000*l.* sterling [Hutchinson, i. 101, says "at least 2000*l.*"] was appropriated to the support of the grammar schools in New Haven and Hartford. Ibid. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 22.

3 This tract, part of Pequot, originally belonged to New London. The first man who settled on it, was William Cheeseborough from Rehoboth, in 1649. The general court of Connecticut, claiming the land, summoned him before them; and, after stating their claims, and taking bonds for his good conduct, allowed his continuance, promising at the same time, that if he would procure a sufficient number of planters, they would give them all proper encouragement in making a permanent settlement: and about 10 or 12 families began to plant there this year. Massachusetts claimed this country by virtue of the assistance it afforded Connecticut in the conquest of the Pequots. After the determination of the dispute by the commissioners, the planters petitioned the general court of Massachusetts, and obtained a grant of 8 miles from the mouth of Mistic river toward Wekapang, and 8 miles northward into the country, and named the plantation Southerton. It continued under the government of Massachusetts until after Connecticut obtained a royal charter. Trumbull, i. 242—244. Gov. Trumbull, MS. State and Origin of Connecticut.

versy between Connecticut and Massachusetts about a title and jurisdiction, entered into a voluntary contract to govern themselves, until it should be determined to which colony they should submit. The commissioners for the United Colonies, observing that the Pequot country should accommodate two plantations, determined, that Mistic river be the boundary between them; and that those people, already settled by commission from either of the two governments be not molested [1].

The general court of Massachusetts ordered, that no person should publicly and constantly preach to any company of people, whether in a church state or not, or be ordained to the office of a teaching elder, where any two organic churches, council of state, or general court should declare dissatisfaction at such public service, either in reference to doctrine or practice, the offence being declared to such people, church, or person, until the offence be orderly removed; and that, in case of the ordination of any teaching elder, timely notice be given to three or four of the neighbouring organic churches, for their approbation [2].

Differences concerning baptism, in this and the two preceding years, terminated in the removal of one part of the churches and towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, to plantations higher on Connecticut river; one of which was called Hadley; the other Northampton [3].

Orders were given to William Beckman, lieutenant governor at Newcastle, under the command of the director general of New Netherlands, to purchase of the natives the lands around Cape Henlopen, in order to raise a fortification, and extend the settlement [4].

The affairs of Maryland continuing in a distracted state, the government of that province was surrendered by the commissioners to Fendal [5], who had been appointed governor by the proprietary; but his intrigues, instead of allowing the restoration of the public quiet, rather aggr[avated]

1 Trumbull, i. 242—244. Gov. Trumbull, MS. State and Origin of Connecticut. Backus, N. Eng. i. 343.

2 Hazard, Coll. i. 493. The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Massachusetts, composed of laws, made at different times by the legislature of the colony, is inserted ibid. 488—490.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xli. The separation was "orderly and peaceably." Ibid.

4 Smith, N. York, 7. Chalmers, i. 663. For want of goods, the purchase was not made until the next year. Smith, ib.

5 An insurgent. See A. D. 1656.

vated those mischiefs, which had long wasted the province [1].

There was a great earthquake in New England [2].

Ralph Partridge, minister of Duxborough, died [3].

Oliver Cromwell, protector died on the third of September; and was succeeded by his son Richard [4].

1659.

The Virginians seized the occasion of the death of the protector's governor, to throw off the government of the protectorate. They applied to Sir William Berkeley, living privately on his estate, to resume the government of the colony; but he did not consent to the proposal until they solemnly promised to adventure their lives and fortunes with him for their king. Berkeley was restored in January; and the colonists proclaimed Charles II. king of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Virginia, before his restoration to the crown of England [5].

At the meeting of the assembly of Maryland, the burgesses, by the direction or connivance of Fendal, governor of the colony, dissolved the upper house, and assumed every power in the state [6].

The general court of Massachusetts, in addition to the income of Charlestown ferry, formerly granted to Harvard College, ordered, that there should be annually levied a hundred pounds, by addition to the country rate, for the maintenance of the president and fellows of the college [7].

1 Chalmers, i. 224.

2 Morton, 164. Josselyn, Voy. 269.

3 Magnal, book iii. 99. Morton, 164.

4 Life Cromwell, 405.

5 Chalmers, i. 125. The firmness, which the Virginians expressed in the royal cause, drew from the king a particular mark of his favour; for a part of his habit, at the time of his coronation, it is said, was composed of *Virginian silk*, sent to him from the colony. Univ. Hist. xli. 32.

6 Chalmers, i. 224, 225. The form of the procedure was singular. As soon as the assembly convened, than the burgesses sent the following paper to the upper house: "To the honourable the governor and council, That this assembly of burgesses, judging themselves to be a lawful assembly, without dependence upon any other power in the province now in being, is the highest court of judicature: and if any objection can be made, we desire to hear it." A conference ensued; and the upper house, refusing to betray at once its trust and its own just authority, was dissolved by the burgesses. Ibid. 236.

7 Mass. Laws. It was to continue "during the pleasure of the country."

William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, and Mary Dyer, quakers, were brought to trial before the general court of Massachusetts, and sentenced to die. The two first were executed [1].

John Winthrop, Humphrey Atherton, and associates, purchased of the Narraganset sachems two tracts of land, joining to Narraganset bay, and settled them with inhabitants [2].

Uncas and Wawequay, sachems of Moheagan, granted all their lands to major John Mason, agent for Connecticut, who, the next year, surrendered the lands to that colony [3].

Thomas Macy removed his family from Salisbury, in Massachusetts, to the west end of Nantucket, and began a settlement at Madikit harbour: There were, at that time, nearly three thousand Indians on the island [4].

1 Hutchinson, i. 200. Hazard, Coll. ii. 565. They received this sentence "for their rebellion, sedition, and presumptuous obtruding themselves after banishment upon pain of death." Mary Dyer, was reprieved, on condition of her departure from the jurisdiction in forty-eight hours, and, if she returned, to suffer the sentence. She was however carried to the gallows, and stood with a rope about her neck until the others were executed. This infatuated woman returned, and was executed in 1660. A declaration of the general court, in justification of these proceedings, was soon after printed. It is entire in Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxiv; and Hazard, Coll. ii. 567—562.—An extract is in Mather, Magnal. book vii. 23. See A. D. 1661.

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 217, 218, 240. "One lying to the southward of Mr. Smith's trading house [See p. 264.] and the other to the northward of it." Ibid. The next year (1660) the Narraganset sachems, "for valuable consideration, mortgaged to major Atherton and partners the remaining part of the whole Narraganset country, containing the Cowhesset and Niantick countries." Ibid. Atherton had about 20 associates. The *consideration*, here mentioned, was a sum of money for the Indian sachems, to redeem their lands, that they had mortgaged. A longer time was allowed for payment; but the sachems, failing also in this new engagement, surrendered their lands, in 1662, to those associates, "and gave them quiet and peaceable possession and seizin, by turf and twig." Ibid. Backus, N. Eng. i. 343.

3 Gov. Trumbull, MS. State and Origin of Connecticut. Coll. Hist. Soc. ix. 85. Trumbull, i. 424. The planters of Connecticut made repeated purchases of their lands. "The colony not only bought the Moheagan country of Uncas, but afterwards all the particular towns were purchased again, either of him or his successors, when the settlements of them commenced." Ibid. 114.

4 Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 156—160. The natives were willing to sell their lands; and the English gradually purchased them, until they obtained the whole, excepting some small rights, which are still retained by the aboriginal proprietors. Peter Folger was the most distinguished man among the first English settlers of the island. His daughter was the mother of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who it is thought, "inherited a part of his noble publick spirit from his grandfather, Peter Folger." Ibid.

Francis

Francis de Laval, who had been abbot of Montigny, now appointed bishop of Canada, came over, bringing, for the first time, monks of other orders beside Jesuits [1].

Sir Christopher Mims took the Spanish town of Campeachy [2].

Henry Dunster, president of Harvard College, died [3]. Peter Bulkley, minister of Concord, died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age [4].

1660.

King Charles the Second was restored to the British throne on the twenty-ninth of May; and made his entrance into London on the eighth of June [5].

The parliament passed an act for the general encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation, by which the provisions, made in the celebrated Navigation Act of 1651, were continued, with additional improvements [6]. It enacted, that

1 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 339. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 466.

2 Univ. Hist. xxxix. 141. Harris, Voy. ii. 903.

3 Morton, 170. Mr. Dunster is considered as the first president of Harvard College; and the commencement of his presidency was in 1640. [See p. 260, and Harv. Catalogue.] But the first member of the college was Nathaniel Eaton, "who was chosen professor or master" of that seminary in 1637; "for not only the tuition of the scholars, but the care and management of all donations for erecting edifices, &c. were committed to him." Pres. Stiles' MSS. He was a distinguished scholar; but was removed from his office for his severities, and went to Virginia. See Winthrop, Journ. 184—187. Gov. Winthrop (ibid.) says, Eaton "had been some time initiated among the Jesuits." Mr. Dunster was well esteemed for his learning, piety, and spirit of government; but, imbibing at length the principles of antipædobaptism, he excited uneasiness among the overseers of the college, and was hence induced to resign the presidency 24 October, 1654. Mather, Magnal. book iv. 127. He was a great master of the oriental languages; and when a new version of the psalms had been made by some of the New England divines, and printed in 1640, that version, requiring "a little more art," was committed to him; and, with some assistance, he revised and refined it, and brought into that state, in which the churches of New England used it for many subsequent years. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 19, 20.

4 Neal, N. Eng. i. 321. [See A. D. 1637, p. 246.] He was descended from an honourable family in Bedfordshire, and educated at one of the English universities; and was distinguished for his knowledge in theology, for general literature, and for piety. He was a moderator (Mr. Hooker was the other) of the synod in 1637. P. Stiles' MSS. and Election Sermon 1699. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 96—98.

5 Blair's Chronology. Henault, ii. 140.

6 Anderson, ii. 453. [See A. D. 1651.] The second article of the act is, "None but natural born subjects, or naturalized, shall henceforth exercise

that no sugar, tobacco, ginger, indigo, cotton, fustic, dying woods, of the growth of the English territories in America, Asia, or Africa, shall be transported thence to any other country, than those belonging to the crown of England, under the penalty of forfeiture. The most submissive colonists considererd the act as grievous, and contrived various methods to evade it [1].

The only English colonies on the American continent, after the emigrations of half a century, were Virginia, New England, and Maryland; which are supposed to have contained, at this time, no more than eighty-thousand inhabitants [2].

At the commencement of the civil wars in England, the population of Virginia had increased to about twenty-thousand souls. The cavaliers resorting to that colony, during the distresses of those times, Virginia contained, at the epoch of the Restoration, about thirty-thousand persons. The province of Maryland, notwithstanding its various contractions and revolutions, continued to increase in population, in industry, and in wealth; and contained about twelve-thousand persons [4].

The generals Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges of king Charles I. arrived at Boston. Having left London before the king was proclaimed, they did not conceal their persons or characters. They immediately visited governor Endicot, who gave them a courteous reception; but, choosing a situation less public than Boston, they went, on the day of their arrival, to Cambridge [5].

A tract

cise the occupation of a merchant or factor in those places" [Asia, Africa, or America,] "under forfeiture of goods and chattels." This is judged to have been a good improvement on the former act; "it having been before common to have Dutch merchants to be factors and agents in our colonies." Ibid.

1 Chalmers, i. 241, 242. While the parliament restrained the colony trade to England, it conferred the privilege of *the sole production of* tobacco on the plantations. Ibid. 243.

2 Chalmers, i. 239.

3 Chalmers, i. 125.

4 Chalmers, i. 226.

5 Hutchinson, i. 215, 216. Chalmers, i. 249. President Stiles' Hist. of Three of the Judges of king Charles I. 23—26. The act of indemnity was brought over the last of November. It appeared however, that Whalley and Goffe were not excepted, with *those*, to whom pardon was offered; and some of the principal persons in the government were alarmed. The governor summoned a court of assistants 22 February, 1661, to consult about securing them; but the court did not agree to it. Finding it unsafe to remain longer where they were, they left Cambridge 26 February.

A tract of land, six miles square, having been granted to some of the inhabitants of Sudbury; it was now incorporated by the name of Marlborough [1].

Several of the inhabitants of Ipswich, on petition to the general court of Massachusetts, obtained a grant of land, near Quabaug pond, six miles square; which was soon after settled, and named Brookfield [2].

Woolwich, in the Province of Maine, was settled [3].

The township of Norwich, in Connecticut, having been purchased of the natives; the reverend James Fitch, with the principal part of his church and congregation, removed from Saybrooke, and planted that town [4].

The town of Huntingdon, on Long Island, was received as a member of the Connecticut jurisdiction [5].

There were, at this time, in New England ten Indian towns, of such as were called Praying Indians [6]. The first Indian church in New England was now embodied at Natick [7].

bruary, and arrived at New Haven 7 March. A few days after their removal, a hue and cry was brought by the way of Barbadoes; and the governor and assistants issued a warrant 8 March to secure them. To avoid all suspicion of their sincerity, they sent Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, zealous royalists, to go through the colonies, as far as Manhattan, in search of them; but deputy governor Leet favouring their concealment, and Mr. Davenport, minister of New Haven, and a few other confidential persons, actually aiding it, they effectually eluded discovery. Ibid.

1 Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 46. Its Indian name was Okommakamesit; and it appears to have begun to be settled by the English about the year 1654. Ibid.

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 258. The court required these conditions: "Provided they have 20 families there resident within three years, and that they have an able minister settled there within the said term, such as the court shall approve; and that they make due provision in some way or other for the future, either by setting apart of lands, or what else shall be thought meete for the continuance of the ministry among them." The Indian proprietor, Shattoockquis, gave a deed of the land to the English 10 November 1665. Ibid. See a copy of it, ibid.

3 Sullivan, 169. Mills were now erected there. Ibid.

4 Trumbull, i. 245, 246. The township is about nine miles square. In June 1659 Uncas and his two sons, by a formal deed, made it over to Thomas Leffingwell and 34 other proprietors; who, at this time, gave Uncas and his sons about 70 l. as a farther compensation, in addition to a former benefit, on account of which Uncas had given Leffingwell a deed of a great part, if not of the whole town. Ibid.

5 Trumbull, i. 246.

6 Hutchinson, i. 166.

7 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 181.

About

About this time a few adventurers emigrated from Massachusetts, and settled around Cape Fear [1].

1661.

Charles II. in his instructions to Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, required him to call an assembly, as might be, and assure it of the royal intention to grant a general pardon and oblivion of all persons, those only excepted, who were attainted by act of parliament; provided that body should repeal all acts, made during the rebellion, derogatory from the obedience, which the colonies owed to the king and government of England; to transmit an account of all tobacco shipped from that colony, that every one might be punished, who should transgress the act of navigation; and to transmit his opinion of the practicability of establishing an iron work [2].

The laws of England, which seem to have been observed by consent of the settlers of Virginia, were now expressly adopted by an act of the assembly of that colony; excepting so far, as a difference of condition rendered them inapplicable [3].

The Society "for the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen natives of New England, and the parts adjacent," was incorporated by king Charles II [4].

The king appointed the great officers of state a committee "touching the settlement of New England [5]."

Complaints being made to the king against Massachusetts, he commanded the governor and council "to send persons to England, to answer these various accusations." Charles II. had not yet been proclaimed by them. The governor, on receiving intelligence of the transactions, that were taking place in England to the prejudice of the colony, judged it inexpedient to delay that solemnity any longer. Calling the court together, a form of proclamation was agreed to; and Charles was acknowledged to be their sovereign [and] king.

1 Chalmers, i. 515. These emigrants, from the unpropitious soil and climate, and the want of a good fishery, for some years experienced the miseries of want. On their solicitation of aid from their countrymen, the general court ordered a universal contribution for their relief. Ibid. 516.

2 Chalmers, i. 245. The iron work "is proposed," says the king, "to be undertaken by ourself."

3 Jefferson, Virg. Query XIV.

4 Humphrey's Hist. Account, 6. See A. D. 1649.

5 Chalmers, i. 244.

king, and "to be lawful king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and all other territories thereto belonging[1]."

An address to the king was also agreed to, and ordered to be sent to England[2].

The general court of Massachusetts, received a letter from the king, signifying his pleasure, that there should be no farther prosecution of the quakers, who were condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or who were imprisoned, and obnoxious to such condemnation; but that they be forthwith sent over to England for trial. The court accordingly ordered, that the laws in force against the quakers, so far as they respected corporal punishment or death, be suspended[3].

The

1 Ibid. 253, 254. Hutchinson, i. 216—218. The court published an order the same day, "forbidding all disorderly behaviour on the occasion; declaring, that no person might expect indulgence for the breach of any law;" and "in a particular manner, that no man should presume to drink his majesty's health," which, the order says, "he hath in an especial manner forbid." This *last* prohibition, whatever was its origin, was very prudential. Had what was forbidden been *injoined*, it might have proved too severe a test of the loyalty of the colonists; especially, if what Chalmers says were strictly true, that king Charles and New England "mutually hated, contemned, and feared each other, during his reign; because the one suspected its principles of attachment, the other dreaded an invasion of privileges." Ibid. 244. Hutchinson, i. 216—219. Chalmers, i. 254.

2 Hutchinson, i. 219. It is inserted in Hazard, ii. 593—595.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxiv. Neal, N. Eng. i. 334, 335. On this occasion, 28 quakers were released from prison, and conducted out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The letter from the king and the acts of the court are in Hazard, ii. 595, 596. The letter was superscribed to governor Endecot, and to all the other governors of New England. To vindicate the errors of our ancestors were to make them our own. It is allowed, that they were culpable; but we do not concede, that, in the present instance, they stood alone, or that they merited *all* the censure, bestowed on them. Laws, similar to those of Massachusetts, were passed elsewhere against the quakers, and particularly in Virginia. "If no execution took place here [Virginia,] as it did in New England, it was not owing to the moderation of the church, or spirit of the legislature.' Jefferson, Virg. Query XVII. The prevalent opinion among all sects of Christians, at that day, that toleration is sinful, ought to be remembered; nor may it be forgotten, that the *first* quakers in New England, beside speaking and writing what was deemed blasphemous, reviled magistrates and ministers; and disturbed religious assemblies; and that the tendency of their tenets and practices was to the subversion of the commonwealth, in that period of its infancy. See Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. Hazard, Coll. i. 480; ii. 596; and the early historians of N. Eng. In reviewing the conduct of our revered ancestors, it is but just to make allowance for the times in which they lived, and the occasions of their measures. It is readily conceded however, that severe treatment of sectaries generally serves to increase their zeal, and their numbers; and that it is therefore as repugnant to sound policy,

The Indian translation of the New Testament, by the reverend John Eliot, was finished this year, and printed [1].

The tract of land at Kennebeck river, owned by Plymouth colony, was now sold for fourteen hundred pounds sterling [2].

1662.

The charter of Connecticut was granted by king Charles II. with the most ample privileges, under the great seal of England. It ordained, among other provisions, that there should be annually two general assemblies, one holden on the second Thursday in May, and the other, on the second Thursday in October; and that the assembly should consist of the governor, deputy governor, and twelve assistants, with two deputies from every town or city. John Winthrop was appointed governor, and John Mason, deputy governor, until a new election should be made. The governor and company were authorized to have a common seal, to appoint judicatories, make freemen, constitute officers, establish laws, impose fines, assemble the inhabitants in marshal array for common defence, and to exercise martial law in all necessary cases. It was ordained by the charter, that all the king's subjects, in the colony, should enjoy all the privileges of free and natural subjects within the realm of England; and that the patent should always have the most favourable construction for the benefit of the governor and company [3].

The

policy, as to the benevolent spirit of Christianity. The great and learned Grotius, in reference to the treatment of the sectaries in Holland, says, with equal candour and discrimination: "Nec illos plane damnaveris, qui prava et moribus noxia docentes exilio, aut honorum facultatumque ademtione mulctaverunt. Sed contra eventus fuit. Quin ipsa invitant pericula," &c. Annales, 16, 17. It is hardly needful to subjoin, that, whatever are the religious theories of the Quakers or Friends at this day, their deportment in society excites respect, and conciliates esteem.

1 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 176. It was dedicated to Charles II.

2 Sullivan, 117. It was sold to Antipas Boies, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle, and John Winslow. Ibid. See A. D. 1628.

3 Trumbull, i. 259, 260. Chalmers, 223, 291. Stokes Brit. Colonies, 63—67. Brit. Emp. ii. 169—171. See the entire Charter, prefixed to the Acts and Laws of Connecticut. The general court of Connecticut, in 1661, prepared a Petition to the king for a charter; and John Winthrop, then governor of the colony, went to England to procure it. An extraordinary ring, that Mr. Winthrop now presented to Charles II. which the king's father Charles I. had presented to Mr. Winthrop's grandfather, is thought to have been influential in procuring the royal favour. Ibid.

The charter included the colony of New Haven; but that colony did not accept it, nor agree to be united under one government with Connecticut [1].

A synod of all the ministers in Massachusetts, with messengers from the churches, was holden at Boston, by appointment of the general court, to deliberate and decide on certain subjects of ecclesiastical controversy [2]. The result of its deliberations was delivered to the general court; which ordered it to be printed, and recommended its observance to all the churches in its jurisdiction [3].

The general court of Massachusetts appointed two licensers of the press [4].

The three townships, settled on Connecticut river, in the colony of Massachusetts, were made a county, by the name of Hampshire [5].

The town of Dorchester voted, that Unquety [Milton] should be a township, if it have the consent of the general court [6].

Metacom, sachem of Pokanoket, afterward celebrated

Ibid. Governor Winthrop did not arrive with the charter until after the general election in May; and the freemen made no alteration in their offices until 9 October; on which day Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor, and Mr. Mason, deputy governor; magistrates, or assistants, were also chosen; and the charter was publicly read to the freemen. Trumbull, ibid. Mather [Magnal. book i. 24.] says, it was "as amply privileged a charter, as was ever enjoyed perhaps by any people under the cope of heaven." The Petition, for it is in Hazard, Coll. ii. 586—588, and Trumbull, i. Append. No. VII. It cost the colony about 1300*l.* sterling Trumbull, i. 262.

1 Chalmers, i. 296. Trumbull, 260—277, where the objections to the union, with the arguments for it, and the negociations to effect it, are recited at large. See A. D. 1665.

2 Mather, Magnal. book v. 63, 64. Hutchinson, i. 223. Trumbull, i. 265. Two questions were referred to its decision: 1. Who are the subjects of baptism? 2. Whether, according to the Word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches? In answer to the first, the synod declared, "That church members, who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereunto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant of the church, wherein they give up themselves and children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in his church, their children are to be baptized." This answer "was substantially the same with that given by the council in 1657." The synod also gave their opinion in favour of the consociation of churches. See "The Answer of the Elders and other Messengers of the Churches," with Remarks, in Mather, Magnal. book v. 64—84.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxvi.

4 Hutchinson, i. 257. Daniel Gookin, Esq. and Rev. Mr. Mitchel.

5 Ibid. 226.

6 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 100. It was incorporated this year.

under

under the English name and title of king Philip, made his appearance at the court of Plymouth, and solicited the continuance of the amity and friendship, which had subsisted between the government of Plymouth, and his father and brother; and promised for himself and his successors to remain subjects of the king of England [1].

The authority of lord Baltimore, the proprietary of Maryland, being re-established at the Restoration, he appointed Charles Calvert, his eldest son, governor of the colony; who now assumed the administration [2]. The assembly of Maryland besought the proprietary "to take order for setting up a mint," and a law was passed for that purpose [3]. The prosperity of this province was considerably checked by the incursions of the Janadoa Indians; but, by the aid of the Susquehannahs, they were repelled, probably annihilated [4].

The ancient constitution of Virginia being restored, the grand assembly of that colony was convened in March, agreeably to the governor's instructions. The church of England was now, with the approbation of the people, regularly established by the assembly; churches were ordered to be built; glebes were laid out, and vestries appointed; ministers, who had received their ordination from some bishop in England, were to be inducted by the governor; and all others were prohibited from preaching, on pain of suspension, or banishment [5]. The assembly enacted a law "against the divulgers of false news [6]."

The

1 Neal, N. Eng. i. 352. Morton, 171, 172. The court expressed its willingness to continue the friendship; and promised to afford the Indians "such friendly assistance by advice and otherwise, as they justly may;" and to "require" their "English at all times to carry friendly towards them." Ibid. I. Mather [Troubles with the Indians, 70.] says, it was at this time, that Metacom desired an English name, and that the court named him Philip.

2 Chalmers, i. 360. Univ. Hist. xl. 469. Europ. Settlements, ii. 229.

3 Chalmers, i. 248. "The great hindrance to the colony in trade, [illegible] the want of money," is assigned as the reason for the measure. It [illegible] enacted, that the money coined shall be of as good silver as Engl[illegible] sterling; that every shilling, and so in proportion for other pieces, sha[illegible] weigh above nine pence in such silver; and that the proprietary shall [illegible] cept of it in payment of his rents and other debts. This coin being [illegible] ward circulated, the present law was confirmed among the perpetual [illegible] of Maryland in 1676. This is the only law for coining money, which occurs in colonial history, previous to the American revolution, excepting the ordinance of Massachusetts in 1652. Chalmers, i. 248.

4 Chalmers, i 249. Their "name seems now extinct or forgotten."

5 Chalmers, i. 345. The Dutch left it, on the remonstrance of Calvert.

6 Ibid. 246. The assembly "considered how much of the late misery had

The Dutch retired from the country around Cape Henlopen; and Calvert, governor, of Maryland immediately occupied it [1].

By an act of uniformity in religion, which took effect on the twenty-fourth of August, about two thousand dissenting ministers were ejected from their benefices, without any provision for themselves, or their families. Soon after they were banished five miles distant from every corporation in England. Several ultimately died in prison, for exercising their ministry in private, contrary to law; but a considerable number of them found an asylum in New England [2].

1663.

The immense territory, lying southward of Virginia, although granted to Sir Robert Heath by Charles I. [3] remained unsettled. Edward earl of Clarendon and several associates, apprized of the excellent soil of that country, formed a project for planting a colony there. On application for a charter [4], Charles II. granted them all the lands, lying

had arisen from the falsehood of rumour," and was hence influenced to make the law. Ibid. "Happy had it been for that colony," adds Chalmers, "had a rule so promotive of internal quiet been carefully attended to and enforced." Various other beneficial regulations were now established, which long served as the code of provincial jurisprudence. No other notice was taken of the late "usurpation," than a declaration of the assembly, "that, in order to avoid like inconveniences, it had reviewed the whole body of laws, expunging all the unnecessary acts, and chiefly such as might keep in memory the late forced deviation of the people from his majesty's obedience, and bringing into one volume those that are in force." The Virginians were now happy in the governor of their choice, and in the form of government, that had formerly given them great satisfaction; and in the language of Chalmers, "as they neither felt the pressure of grievance, nor experienced the fever of distrust, they continued, for some time, in that desirable but unimportant state of tranquillity, which adds nothing to the stock of historic knowledge." 234.

[1] Chalmers, i. 634.

[2] Neal, N. Eng. 356. Pierce, Vindicat. Dissenters, 231, 232. The learned and pious John Owen, D. D. who, under the Protectorship, had been dean of Christ church, and vice chancellor of the university of Oxford, was invited to the pastoral charge of the first church in Boston, and shipped his effects for N. England; but he was forbidden to leave the kingdom, by express orders from Charles II. Ibid. Hutchinson, i. 226. It does not satisfactorily appear, that he was invited to the presidency of Harvard college.

[3] See A. D. 1630, p. 214, text and note.

[4] "Excited by a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel,"

lying between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude [1]; and constituted them absolute lords and proprietors of that tract of country, reserving to himself and his successors the sovereign dominion. He empowered them to enact and publish any laws, which they should judge necessary, with the assent, advice, and approbation of the freemen of the colony; to erect courts of judicature, and appoint civil judges, magistrates, and officers; to erect forts, castles, cities, and towns; to make war, and, in cases of necessity, to exercise martial law; and to build harbours, make ports, and enjoy customs and subsidies, imposed, with the consent of the freemen, on goods loaded and unloaded. One of the provisions of the charter is peculiarly worthy of notice [2]. The king granted the proprietors authority to allow the inhabitants of the province such indulgences and dispensations, in religious affairs, as they, in their discretion, should think proper and reasonable; and no person, to whom such liberty should be granted, was to be molested, punished, or called in question, for any differences in speculative opinions relative to religion, provided he disturbed not the civil order and peace of the community. The province, thus erected, was called Carolina [3].

The privy souncil, considering the present condition of Carolina, decided, that all former grants were now void, because they had never been executed. Animated by this decision, the proprietors held their first meeting in May, to agree on measures for the transporting of colonists, and for the payment of various expences; and they now

pel," they "beg a certain country in the parts of America, not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who have no knowledge of God." Charter. The applicants, beside Clarendon, were George duke of Albemarle, William lord Craven, John lord Berkeley, Antony lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton. Ibid.

1 Including the territories of what afterward constituted North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Ramsay, S. Carolina, i. 1, 12. A second and more ample charter, dated 24 March, 1667, the bounds were made to extend from the 29th degree of north latitude to 36 30 min. and from these points on the coast westward in parallel lines to the Pacific Ocean. Hewet, i. 45. Brit. Emp. iii. 211—215.

2 The reason assigned in the charter for such a dispensing power, "it might happen, that several of the inhabitants could not in their private opinions conform to the exercise of religion according to the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of England."

3 Hewet, i. 45, 46. Chalmers, i. 517. Drayton, S. Carolina, 6. Some writers place this article in 1662.

published

Published proposals to all who would plant in Carolina [1].

Charles II. conferred a charter on Rhode Island and Providence plantations [2]. By this charter the supreme or legislative power was vested in an assembly, the constituent members of which were to consist of the governor, and assistants, and such of the freemen as should be chosen by the towns; but the governor, and six assistants, were to be always present [3]. The legislature of Rhode Island passed an act, that all men professing Christianity, and of competent estates, civil conversation, and obedient to the civil magistrate, though of different judgment in religious affairs, Roman Catholics only excepted, should be admitted freemen, and have liberty to choose and be chosen officers in the colony, both civil and military [4].

A small plantation, that had been several years established within the boundaries of the Carolina patent, on the north eastern banks of the river Chowan, was now named, in compliment to the title of general Monk, Albemarle [5].

A ship arrived from Holland at Delaware river, with new planters, ammunition, and implements of husbandry [6].

A terrible earthquake was felt in the northern parts of America [7]. John

1 Chalmers, i. 517. The proposals were made at the desire of "the New England people, settled around Cape Fear." See A. D. 1660. These proposals offered, among other privileges, that the emigrants may present to the proprietaries 13 persons, in order that they may appoint a governor and a council of six for three years; that an assembly, composed of the governor, the council, and delegates of the freemen, should be called, as soon as the circumstances of the colony would allow, with power to make validity after the publication of the dissent of the proprietaries; that every one should enjoy the most perfect freedom in religion; that, during five years every freeman should be allowed 100 acres of land, and 50 for every servant, paying one half penny only an acre; and that the same freedom from customs, which had been allowed by the royal charter, should be allowed to every one.

2 Hazard, Coll. ii. 612—623, where the charter is entire. Chalmers, i. 574. Stokes, Brit. Colonies, 60—62. Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 218. There were at that time, but 18 representatives in the colony; 6 from Newport, 4 from Providence, 4 from Portsmouth, and 4 from Warwick. Chalmers, i. 27. They were chosen half yearly by the several towns. Callender, 46.

3 Chalmers, i. 274.

4 Modern Empire, ii. 148.

5 Chalmers, 518, 519. This plantation had been made by settlers from Nansamond, which was settled so early as 1609. Ib. See that year.

6 Smith, N. York, 9.

7 Morton, 172, there placed, according to the *old* computation, in 1662. Josselyn, Voy. 58. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 368—369. It was felt throughout New England and New Netherlands; but Canada

John Norton minister of Boston [1], Samuel Stone, minister of Hartford [2], and Samuel Newman, minister of Rehoboth, died [3].

1664.

was the chief seat of its concussions. It began there about half an hour after five in the evening. While the heavens were serene, there was suddenly heard a roar, like that of fire. The buildings were instantly shaken with amazing violence. "The doors opened and shut of themselves, with a fearful clattering. The bells rang, without being touched. The walls split asunder. The floors separated, and fell down. The fields put on the appearance of precipices; and the mountains seemed to be moving out of their places." The first shock continued nearly half an hour. Several violent shocks succeeded this, the same evening, and the *next* day; nor did the earthquakes until the following July. The effects of the first, in January, were remarkable. "Many fountains and small rivers were dried up. In others, the water became sulphureous; and in some, the channel in which they ran before, was so altered that it could not be distinguished. Many trees were torn up, and thrown to a considerable distance: and some mountains appeared to be much broken and moved. Half way between Tadousac and Quebec, two mountains were shaken down: and the earth thus thrown down, formed a point of land, which extended half a quarter of a league, into the river St. Lawrence. The island Aux Coudres became larger than it was before; and the channel in the river became much altered." Memoirs Americ. Acad. Arts and Sciences, i. 263—265. This is a credible account; because derived from original sources. But that this earthquake in Canada overwhelmed a chain of mountains of free stone more than 200 miles long, and changed that immense tract into a plain, though affirmed must not be believed. See Clavigero, Hist. Mexico, ii. 221.

1 Morton, 177. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 32—41. Mr. Norton was an eminent scholar and divine. He was teacher of the church at Ipswich; but, after the death of Mr. Cotton, he was solicited to return to Boston, and officiated as his successor until his own death. He was much respected for his talents and piety; and had "an eminent acumen in polemical divinity." In the year 1644 William Apollonius having, at the direction of the divines in Zealand, sent over to New England a number of questions, relating to the way of church government there, the ministers of New England unanimously requested Mr. Norton, to draw up an answer; which he finished in 1645. Dr. Cotton Mather, supposes, this was the first Latin book, that was ever written in the country. Mr. Norton assisted in modelling the Cambridge Platform in 1647. He also wrote an answer to a letter of the famous Dureus, who laboured for a pacification among the reformed churches. On the restoration of Charles II. here Simon Bradstreet, esquire, were sent to England by Massachusetts colony with an address to the king; but, returning with a less successful event than their constituents had expected, their reception was at least coldly suspicious; and the severe reflections of some of the colonists are thought to have preyed on his spirits, and accelerated his death. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 32—41. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxxiv. Hutchinson, i. 220—223.

2 Trumbull, i. 326. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 113—118. Morton 179. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 41. Mr. Stone was educated at Emanuel college in Cambridge. He was eminently pious and exemplary. His sermons

1664.

King Charles II. granted a patent to his brother, the duke of York and Albany, for various and extensive tracts of land in America [1]. A part of this tract was conveyed soon after by the duke to John Lord Berkeley, baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret, of Saltrum in Devon, members of the king's council, by the name of Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey [2].

The same king issued a commission, empowering colonel Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, esquires, "to hear and determine complaints and appeals in all causes, as well military, as criminal and civil," within New England; and to proceed in all things for settling the peace and security of the country [3]. The commissioners, arriving at Boston, laid before the council their commissions and instructions, requiring assistance for the reduction of New Netherlands. The council advised, that the entire subject be submitted to the general court, which was soon to meet [4].

Nicolls, who had been fitted out from England with four frigates and three hundred soldiers [5], for the conquest of the Dutch,

mons were replete with sentiment, concisely and closely applied. He was an acute disputant. He was celebrated for his wit; and his company was much sought by men of learning.

3 Morton, 176. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 113—116. He was an animated preacher, an indefatigable student, and a pious man. Ibid. See A. D. 1664, p. 275.

1 Smith, N. York, 10. The boundaries of the patent are described ibid. and Trumbull, i. 277.

2 Smith, N. York, 10, 11. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 348, 362. This name was given in compliment to Sir George Carteret, whose family came from the isle of Jersey. Thus the New Netherlands became divided into New Jersey and New York. Ibid.

Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. lxv. This commission is in Hutchinson, i. Coll. No. XV. and Hazard, Coll. ii. 638, 639.

Chalmers, i. 386, 387. Morton, 185. The general court, resolving to bear true allegiance to his majesty, and to adhere to a patent, so legally obtained, and so long enjoyed by undoubted right," raised 200 men for the king's service; though they did not join the expedition, because it had been crowned with success before they embodied. Chalmers, ibid. and 573.

5 The authors of the Universal History [xxxix. 348.] say, that Sir Robert Carr was sent with a strong squadron, and 3000 land troops, with orders to dispossess the Dutch of the country, given by king Charles to his brother, and to put the duke of York in possession of it. What separate instructions may have been given to Carr, we know not; but he sailed

Dutch, proceeded directly to Manhattan, without waiting for auxiliaries. No sooner had the frigates entered the harbour, than Stuyvesant, the governor, sent a letter to the English commanders, to desire the reason of their approach, and of their continuance in the harbour without giving notice to the Dutch. Nicolls answered the letter, the next day, by a summons. Stuyvesant, determined on a defence, refused to surrender. Letters and messages were reciprocally exchanged. The English commissioners meanwhile published a proclamation, encouraging the inhabitants to submit; sent officers to beat up for volunteers on Long Island; and issued a warrant to Hugh Hide, who commanded the squadron, to prosecute the reduction of the fort. These preparations, with the refusal of Nicolls to treat about any thing but a surrender, induced the Dutch governor to agree to a treaty for that purpose; and on the twenty-seventh of August articles of capitulation were signed, by which the fort and town of New Amsterdam were surrendered to the English. The Dutch were to continue free denizens; to possess their estates undiminished; to enjoy their ancient customs with regard to their modes of worship, and church discipline; and they were allowed a freedom of trade to Holland [1]. In honour of the duke of York, New Amsterdam now took the name of New York [2].

On the twenty-fourth of September the Dutch garrison at Fort Orange capitulated to the English; and, in honour of the duke, was called Albany [3].

from England with Nicolls, and acted subordinately to him. In regard to the number of troops, I have followed Smith and Chalmers, both of whom say, they were 300.

1 Smith, N. York, 12—23. Chalmers, i. 573, 574. The [illegible] privilege Nicolls had no power to confer; because a king of England could not dispence with the laws, by permitting a commerce, which they had prohibited. Chalmers, ibid. and p. 596. There were XXIII Articles in the pitulation. See them entire in Smith, N. York, 19—21, and Smith Jersey, 43—47. The English deputies, who signed the treaty, Sir Robert Carr, George Carteret, John Winthrop, governor of C necticut, Samuel Wyllys, one of the assistants of that colony, an mas Clarke and John Pynchon, commissioners from the general of Massachusetts, who, Smith says, "but a little before brought from that province." Gov. Winthrop and several of the principa in Connecticut had previously joined the English. Trumbull, i. 279.

2 Smith, N. York, 11, 22. The town was laid out eight years before See A. D. 1656.

3 Ibid. Smith, N. Jersey, 60. While Carteret, who had been commissioned to subdue Fort Orange, was at that place, he had an interview with the Indians of the Five Nations, and entered into a league of friendship with them; "which," adds Smith nearly a century afterward (1750), "re-

On the first of October, articles of capitulation were made between Sir Robert Carr and the Dutch and Swedes on Delaware bay and river [1]; which completed the subjection of New Netherlands to the English crown [2].

Three inhabitants of Jamaica on Long Island purchased of certain Indian chiefs a tract of land, on a part of which a town was built this year, and called Elizabeth Town [3].

The reverend John Eliot completed the translation of the bible into the Indian language, which was now printed at Cambridge [4].

The line between the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth was amicably settled, by a committee from each colony [5].

A very large comet was seen by the people of New England [6].

Count de Cerillac sold the island of Grenada to the French West India company for a hundred thousand livres [7].

Colbert, prime minister of France, erected on the ruins of the old Canada and West India company a new exclusive West India company, for forty years [8].

"remarkably continues to this day." Hist. N. York, 22. Colden, Nat. 34.

1 Chalmers, i. 634. Jefferson, Virg. 275. Encyc. Brit. Art. DELAWARE.

2 Smith, N. York, 23. The history of New Netherlands, Chalmers [572.] observes, "contains nothing, but their settlement, their constant turmoils, their extinction; and it ought to teach a lesson to nations and to men, how they admit others to invade their rights, because continued possession at length forms a title, specious if not just."

3 Smith, N. Jersey, 62. The name of the town is said to have been given for Elizabeth, the wife of Sir George Carteret. The entire tract was called The Elizabeth Town Grant. Beside Elizabeth town, the towns of Newark, Middletown, and Shrewsbury, were soon built; and these, with the adjacent country, were in a few years well inhabited by many settlers from Scotland; some, from England; some of the Dutch, who remained in the country; and some, from the neighbouring colonies. Ibid.

4 Josselyn, N. Eng. Rar. 112. Douglass, i. 233. It was republished [1685] with the *corrections* of Mr. Cotton, minister of Plymouth. Ibid. Mass. Hist. Soc. vii. 24. The title of it is: "Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe UP-*BIBLUM GOD* Naneeswe NUKKONE TESTAMENT Kah Wonk WUSKU TESTAMENT."

5 Hutchinson, i. 229. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 100.

6 Josselyn, Voy. 50, 272. Hutchinson, i. 226. It was visible from 17 December to 4 February. I. Mather [Discourse on Comets, 113. [says, "this famous comet was conspicuous to the whole world."

7 Univ. Hist. xli. 226. Of 500 French planters, who were settled on the island when Cerillac bought it in 1657, no more than 150 now lived there. [See p. 292, note 4.] Ten years afterward (1674) the charter of the French W. Indies being abolished, the island became vested in the crown of France. Ibid. Edwards, W. Indies, i. 349.

8 Encyc. Methodique, *Commerce, Art.* COMPAIGNIE. Anderson, ii. 481.

Lewis XIV. redeemed Martinico from the proprietaries, and granted it to this new company 1.

The English took the isle of St. Lucia from the French 2.

1665.

At the general election, New Haven and Connecticut became united in one colony 3. A proportional number of the council was of the former colony of New Haven. All the towns sent their deputies; and the assembly appeared entirely harmonious. At this session counties were first made, and county courts were first instituted by that name 4. At the time of the union, New Haven and Connecticut consisted of nineteen towns 5.

The court of assizes 6 in New York collected into one code the ancient customs, with such additional improvements, as the great change of things required, regarding the laws of England as the supreme rule. These ordinances, transmitted to England, were confirmed by the duke of York, the following year 7. It was ordained by the government, that no purchase from the Indians, without the governor's licence, executed in his presence, should be valid 8.

The inhabitants of New York were incorporated on the twelfth of June, under the care of a mayor, five aldermen,

Its limits were, "1. That part of the continent of South America lying between the rivers of Amazons and Oronooko, with the adjacent islands. 2. In North America, all Canada, down to and behind Virginia and Florida. 3. All the coast of Africa from Cape Verde, southward, to the Cape of Good Hope." The *old* company had subsisted about 40 years. See Anderson, ii. 311. Before this new company was formed, France paid tribute for her luxuries to the Dutch. Voltaire, viii. 195.

1 Univ. Hist. xli. 230, 244. See A. D. 1650, p. 292.

2 Anderson, ii. 478. It was taken by 5 ships of war, carrying about 1500 men, who were joined by 600 Carribbeans in 17 canoes. The English colony, two years after, reduced by epidemical diseases to 80 persons, abandoned it, and burned their fort. Ibid. *Univ. Hist.* xli. 218.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xli. Hazard, Coll. ii. 510.

4 Trumbull, i. 289, 477. The superior court was instituted at the first session in October. Ibid.

5 Trumbull, i. 290. The grand list was 158,620 *l.* 16 *s.* 5. *d.*

6 Erected by Nicolls, composed of the governor, the council, the justices of the peace; and invested with every power in the colony, legislative, executive, and judicial. Chalmers, i. 575.

7 Chalmers, i. 577.

8 Smith, New York, 27.

and

and a sheriff. Until this time the city was ruled by a scout, burgomasters, and schepens [1].

Nicolls, governor of New York and New Jersey, reluctantly resigned the government of New Jersey to Carteret, its appointed governor, who took possession of Elizabethtown, the capital, now consisting of four families, just settled in the wilderness [2].

The commissioners, returning to Massachusetts, from the reduction of the Dutch colony, began in April to execute their important trust; but, meeting with opposition from the jealous and spirited colonists, they left the country, with menaces of vindictive punishment [3].

The militia of Massachusetts consisted at this time of four thousand foot, and four hundred horse. The colony maintained a fort at the entrance of Boston harbour, with five or six guns; two batteries in the harbour, and one at Charlestown. The number of its ships and vessels was about eighty,

1 Smith, N. York, 27. Thomas Willet, esquire, an Englishman, who usually lived and finally died at Swanzey at the head of Narragansetts bay, was the first mayor, after the conquest. He was a merchant, and had factories, or Indian Trading houses, from Kennebeck to Delaware, particularly at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange. Pres. Stiles' MS. Memorandum in Smith's Hist. New York. Nicolls found the town composed of a few miserable houses, occupied by men, who were extremely poor, and the whole in a mean condition;" but he foretold its greatness, if it were encouraged with the immunities, which he then recommended. He informed the duke of York, by a letter, dated in November, 1665, "such is the mean condition of this town [New York,] that not one soldier to this day lyeth in sheets, or upon any other bed than canvas and straw." Chalmers, i. 575. 597. *Some* of the houses however were handsomely built of brick and stone, and in part covered with red and black tiles, and "the land being high, it presented an agreeable prospect from the sea." Brit. Emp. ii. 208.

2 Chalmers, i. 615.

3 Chalmers, i. 388, 389. A conference between the commissioners and general court soon degenerated into altercation. The commissioners [illegible] asked that body; "Do you acknowledge the royal commission to be of *full force to all the purposes* contained in it?" To this decisive and embarrassing question the general court excused itself from giving a direct answer, and chose rather to "plead his majesty's charter." The commissioners however attempting to hear a complaint against the governor and [illegible] the general court, with characteristic vigour, published, by sound of trumpet, its disapprobation of this proceeding, and prohibited [illegible] from abetting a conduct, so inconsistent with their duty to God, their allegiance to the king; and, in May, the commissioners departed, threatening their opponents "with the punishment, which so many concerned in the late rebellion had met with in England." Ibid. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxv.

from

from twenty to forty tons; about forty, from forty to a hundred tons; and about twelve ships, above a hundred tons [1].

The second charter of Carolina was granted by Charles II. to the same proprietors. It recited and confirmed the former charter, with enlargements. Carolina was declared independent of any other province, but subject immediately to the crown of England; and the inhabitants were never to be compelled to answer in other dominions of the crown, excepting within the realm [2].

Several gentlemen of Barbadoes, dissatisfied with their condition on that island, having proposed to remove to the county of Clarendon [3], recently laid out by the proprietaries of Carolina; John Yeamans, a respectable planter of Barbadoes, was now appointed commander in chief of that county. He was ordered to grant lands to every one, according to the conditions agreed on with the adventurers, reserving one half penny sterling for every acre, payable in March, 1670. King Charles, in aid of the laudable exertions of his courtiers, gave them twelve pieces of ordnance, which were now sent to Charles river, with a considerable quantity of warlike stores [4]. In the autumn Yeamans conducted from Barbadoes a body of emigrants who landed on the southern bank of Cape Fear. He cultivated the good will of the natives, and insured a seven years' peace. The planters, in opening the forest, to make room for the operations of tillage, "necessarily prepared timber for the uses of the cooper and builder; which they transmitted to the island whence they had emigrated, as the first object of a feeble commerce, that kindled the spark of industry, which soon gave animation to the whole [5]."

1 Hutchinson, i. 244.

2 Chalmers, i. 521, 522. Drayton, S. Carol. 6. Jefferson, Virg. According to the limits, fixed in this charter, St. Augustine as well as the whole of the present State of Georgia, fell within the English dominion; but the Spaniards alleged, that this grant was an *invasion* of their rights, and never admitted the limits of this charter, *in any subsequent treaty*. The English therefore had recourse to the claim, founded on prior discovery. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 129. See A. D. 1663.

3 Stretching from Cape Fear to the river St. Matheo. Chalmers.

4 Chalmers, i. 520, 521. Yeamans was directed "to make everything easy to the people of New England, from which the greatest emigrations are expected, as the southern colonies are already drained." Ibid.

5 Chalmers, i. 523. The next year, an account of this new "New Plantation, begun by the English at Cape Feare," was published at London. Bibliotheca Americana, 98.

The

The English inhabitants of Maryland now amounted to sixteen thousand [1].

The government of Rhode Island passed an order to outlaw quakers, and to seize their estates, because they would not bear arms; but the people in general rose up against it, and would not suffer it to be carried into effect [2].

Misquamicut was purchased of the Indians; and a number of baptists of the church in Newport removed to this new plantation, which was afterward called Westerly [3].

A baptist church was gathered in Boston [4]. The first prosecution of anabaptists, that occurs in the records of Massachusetts, was in this year [5].

There were in Massachusetts six towns of Indians, professing the Christian religion [6].

M. de Courcelles, appointed governor of New France, transported the regiment of Carignan Salieres to Canada [7]. To prevent the irruptions of the Five Nations by the way of Lake Champlain, Courcelles built three forts between that lake and the mouth of the river Richlieu [8].

John

1 Univ. Hist. xl. 469. Brit. Emp. iii. 4. Governor Calvert, though a Roman catholic, yet had caused the passing of an act, by which all professing Christians, of every denomination, had liberty to settle in the province. That act, with Calvert's mild and impartial administration, accounts for this considerable increase of inhabitants. Ibid.

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 219.

3 Callender, 39, 65. They afterward "generally embraced the seventh day sabbath." Ibid. Their plantation was constituted a townsbip by the name of Westerly, in 1669. Ibid. It formerly belonged to Stonington [Trumbull, i. 360.]; but it is now in the State of Rhode Island.

4 Hutchinson, i. 227.

5 Ibid. Antipædobaptism had appeared in the colony about A. D. 1640 (ib.); and a law had been made against it, with the penalty of banishment. See p. 275. of this volume.

6 Hutchinson, i. 242.

7 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 381. Josselyn [Voy. 274, N. Eng. Rar. 113.] says, "1000 foot." A great number of families, many mechanics, and hired servants, with horses (the first ever seen in Canada), cattle, and sheep, were transported at the same time. This was a more considerable colony, than that which it came to supply. The 100 associates [See p. 199 of this volume] soon grew weary of the expence of planting their colony; and from the year 1644 abandoned the fur trade to the inhabitants, reserving to themselves, for their right of lordship, an annual homage of 1000 beavers. Reduced at length to the number of 45 associates, they made a total resignation of their rights, in 1662, to the French king, who soon after included New France in the grant, which he made of the French colonies in America in favour of the West India company. Charlevoix, ib. 379, 380.

8 Charlevoix, i. 381. Smith, N. York, 44. Jefferys, Hist. Canada. The first was placed on the spot, where that of Richlieu had formerly stood; and

John Endicot, governor of Massachusetts, died in the seventy-seventh year of his age [1].

1666.

The Mohawks, by incursions on the French in Canada, not merely prevented their commerce with the western Indians, but often endangered their colony. It was to repel or subdue this ferocious enemy, that a regiment had been lately sent over from France. M. de Tracy, vicerory of America, and M. Courcelles, the Canadian governor, with twenty-eight companies of foot, and all the militia of the colony, marched from Quebec above seven hundred miles into the Mohawk country, with the intention of destroying its inhabitants; but on their approach, the Mohawks retired into the woods with their women and children; and the French did nothing more, than burn several villages, and murder some sachems, who chose to die, rather than to desert their habitations [2].

The natives at Sandwich had made such proficiency in the knowledge and observance of the gospel, that the governor of Plymouth colony and several principal men took measures toward forming them into a church state [3].

and had since been called, as also the river, by the name of Sorel, from a captain of the regiment of Carignan, who had the charge of building it. The second fort, built at the foot of a water fall on the river, was called Fort St. Lewis; but M. de Chambly having afterward bought the land on which it was situated, the whole canton, together with the stone fort, since built on the ruins of the old fort, bears the name of Chambly. The third, built three leagues higher than the second, was called St. Theresa. Ibid.

1 Morton, 188. Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 261. This is the same person who came to Salem in 1628. He continued at Salem until he was requested to remove to Boston, "for the more convenient administration of justice," as governor of that jurisdiction. The historian of Salem characterises him as "a sincere Puritan." Ibid.

2 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, 385, 386. Colden, 38. Smith, N. York, 43. Gookin (author of Hist. Collect. of the Indians), who conversed with some Frenchmen, "that were soldiers in this exploit," says, that the march of the French was in the dead of the winter, when the rivers, lakes were covered with a firm ice, upon which they travelled the direct way; that they were obliged to dig into the snow on the edges of rivers and lakes, to make their lodgings in the night; and to carry their provisions, arms, and snow shoes, at their back. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. M. de Tracy, though upwards of 70 years old, chose to command the expedition in person. Charlevoix.

3 Morton, 192.

The

The first act, which occurs, of any colonial assembly, for the naturalization of aliens, was passed this year in Maryland.

The assembly of Carolina transmitted a petition to the proprietaries, praying, that the people of Albemarle might hold their possessions on the same terms, as those on which the Virginians held their's. The proprietaries acceded to the request; and commanded the governor to grant the lands in future on the terms prescribed by themselves [2].

The bucaniers of America, about this time, began their depredations. They consisted of various daring adventurers, who originally combined for the spoliation of the Spaniards in the West Indies. Lewis Scot sacked the city of Campeachy; and, after exacting an excessive ransom, left it nearly in ruins [3]. John Davis, with eighty men, surprized Nicaragua; plundered the wealthiest houses and churches; and carried off money and jewels, to the value of fifty thousand pieces of eight. Not long after, he was chosen commodore; and with seven or eight vessels went to Florida, where he landed his men, and pilaged the city of St. Augustine [4].

Henry Morgan, a Welchman, having gone from Wales to Barbadoes, and commenced pirate, was now made vice admiral by Mansvelt, an old pirate at Jamaica. Sailing together, with fifteen ships and five hundred men, chiefly Walloons and French, on a spoliating enterprize, they took possession of the island of St. Catherine [5], and left a hundred men for its defence; but it was soon after recovered by the Spaniards. Morgan afterward took the castle at Panama, and obliged the city to pay for its ransom one hundred thousand pieces of eight [6].

Maracaybo, a rich town, the capital of the province of Venezuela in South America, was pillaged by the French bucaniers; who carried off the images, pictures, and bells of the great church, and for the ransom and liberty of the

[2] *Chalmers, i. 315.* The general court of Massachusetts had, as early as 1662, granted to a few French protestant refuges "liberty to inhabit" their colony. Ibid.

[3] Chalmers, i. 520.

[4] Hist. Bucaniers, i. 49. Harris, Voy. 821. He was the first pirate, who attempted to *land* in the Spanish dominions. Ibid.

[5] Hist. Bucan. i. 49, 50. Harris, Voy. 821. Davis was born at Jamaica. The castle of Augustine had a garrison of 200 men; yet Davis did not lose a single man. Ibid.

[6] Near Costa Rica in 12 deg. 30 min. north lat.

[7] Hist. Bucan. i. 79—81, 93. Harris, Voy. 824—826.

in-

inhabitants exacted twenty thousand pieces of eight, and five hundred cows [1].

1667.

The proprietaries of Carolina were induced, by intelligence they received respecting the Bahama islands, to apply to the king for a grant of them; and he gave them a patent for all those islands, lying between the twenty-second and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude [2].

A treaty of peace was concluded at Breda between England and Holland. By this treaty New Netherlands were confirmed to the English; and Surinam was confirmed to the Dutch [3]. A treaty was also concluded, at the same place, between England and France. By this treaty, France yielded to England all her part of the island of St. Christopher, together with the islands of Antigua and Montserrat; and England yielded Acadie to France [4].

A general treaty of commerce was concluded between England and Spain, comprehending the interests of both kingdoms, in Europe and America [5].

Peace was established between the French in Canada and the Five Nations, which continued several years [6]. The

1 Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* MARACAYBO. The pirates are there called *Flibustiers*. They again pillaged it in 1678. Ib. Hist. Bucan. i. 65.

2 Hewet, i. 48. The proprietaries had fitted out a ship, and sent captain William Sayle to bring them some account of the Carolinian coast. Sayle was driven by a storm among the Bahama islands, of which (particularly the island of Providence) he acquired some knowledge. He afterward explored the coast and the mouths of the rivers in Carolina; and returning to England, gave intelligence of the Bahamas. Ibid. Anderson, ii. 490. The island, on which Sayle was driven, was St. Salvador; and he is the first Englishman, mentioned in history, who landed on it. Columbus made no settlement on this or any other of the Bahama islands. Univ. Hist. xli. 331.

3 Encyc. Brit. *Art.* DELAWARE. Chalmers, i. 578. Brit. Emp. ii. 400. Surinam had recently been taken by the Dutch, and the *uti possidetis* was the basis of the treaty. Anderson, ii. 493. The English planters at Surinam now principally retired to Jamaica. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 65. Their number, at the time of this evacuation, amounted to 1500, beside their families. Univ. Hist. xli. 359.

4 Anderson, ii. 492. Acadie was restored generally, without specification of limits, and particularly Pentagoet, St. John, Port Royal, Have, and Cape Sable, lying within it. Chalmers, i. 593. This article of the treaty was not concluded until February, 1668. Ibid.

5 Univ. Hist. xli. 358. Anderson, ii. 494.

6 Smith, N. York, 43. They now cultivated a mutual trade

sieur Perot, a French missionary, travelled above twelve hundred miles westward from Quebec, making proselytes of the Indians to the French interest [1].

Governor Nicolls of New York retired from his government. It is recorded to his honour, that he exercised his extraordinary powers with moderation and integrity [2].

Several persons of distinction in England fitted out captain Gillam, on a renewed attempt for a north west passage through Hudson's Bay to China. Gillam passed through Hudson Straits to Baffin's Bay, as far as seventy-five degrees north latitude; and next sailed south to fifty-one degrees some minutes, where, on the river, which he named after prince Rupert, he built Charles Fort, and laid the foundation of a fur trade with the natives [3].

Liberty was granted by the legislature of Massachusetts for erecting a township thirty or forty miles west of Roxbury; and it was called Mendon [4]. The like liberty was given to Brookfield [5]; and to Westfield [6]. The town of Lyme, in Connecticut, was incorporated [7].

John Wilson, minister of Boston, died, at the age of seventy-nine years [8].

1 Ibid. 44. Colden, Five Nations, 35.

2 Chalmers, i. 578. He was succeeded by governor Lovelace; the most memorable act of whose administration was the purchase of Staten Island from the natives. Ibid. 599.

3 Anderson, ii. 492. Univ. Hist. xli. 87. This was the first fort that the English ever had in Hudson's Bay. Ib. We have no account of an attempt for this discovery, since the voyages of Fox and James, until this year. See A. D. 1631, p. 217, 218, of this volume.

4 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxvii. It was settled by people from Roxbury. Ibid.

5 Ibid. Liberty had been granted to Brookfield in 1660 [See that year.]; but the grantees having forfeited the first grant, and six or seven families being now settled there, it was now renewed; and the regulation of the settlement fell into the power of the general court. Ibid.

6 Ibid. Then a village 7 miles west of Springfield.

7 Trumbull, i. 332. About the year 1664, settlements commenced here, on a tract of land originally belonging to Saybrook. Ibid.

8 Morton, 194. He was the first minister of Boston, and was in the ministry in the first church in that town 37 years; 8 years, before Mr. Cotton; 20 years, with him; 10 years, with Mr. Norton; and 4 years, after them. Ibid. He is represented by his contemporaries, as one of the most able, pious, and benevolent men of the age, in which he lived. See Hutchinson, i. 258; Mather, Magnal. book iii. 41—51. His portrait is in the Historical Society.

1668.

As soon as the royal commissioners had returned to England, the general court of Massachusetts appointed four commissioners "to settle all affairs for the government of the people" in the Province of Maine. In execution of their commission, they entered the province, accompanied by a troop of horse, and easily re-established the colonial authority on the ruins of a feeble proprietary government [1].

To promote a reformation of manners, the general court of Massachusetts sent a printed letter to every minister in the colony, requesting a particular attention to that pious design [2].

A township of land, eight miles square, was granted by the legislature of Massachusetts to Daniel Gookin and others, by the name of Worcester [3].

The first settlements on the Bass river side, near Salem, were incorporated by the name of Beverly [4].

Haddam, in Connecticut, was incorporated [5].

The governor and council of New York gave directions for a better settlement of the government on Delaware [6]. Governor Lovelace of New York gave order for customs at the Hoarkills [7].

1 Chalmers, i. 484. Hutchinson, i. 260—268. The province appears to have been in a confused state; and some of the principal persons applied to the general court of Massachusetts to re-assume the jurisdiction over them. The commissioners, appointed by the court, were major general Leveret, Mr. Edward Tyng, captain Richard Waldron, and captain Robert Pike. Ibid.

2 Neal, N. Eng. i. 370. The effect appears to have been salutary. The pious zeal of the government, though highly commendable in its principle, was not always exercised *according to knowledge*. A licence having been obtained this year (1668) for printing Thomas à Kempis de Imitatione Christi, the general court was alarmed; recommended to the licensers a more full revisal; and ordered the press, in the mean time, to stop; giving for a reason, "that, being written by a popish minister, it contained some things less safe to be infused among the people." Hutchinson, i. 258. Chalmers, i. 394.

3 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 115. The Indian war, which commenced soon after, prevented the settlement of the town until A. D. 1685. Ibid.

4 Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 233. They had a church built as early as 16[illegible].

5 Trumbull, i. 332. There were 28 original proprietors. They [illegible] their settlements on the *west* side of the river; and *these* were now incorporated. The extent of the town was 6 miles east and west of the river.

6 Jefferson, Virg. Query XXIII. from Smith, N. Jersey.

7 Ibid.

Lord

Lord Willoughby, governor of Barbadoes, sent forces to St. Vincent and Dominica, and obliged the natives of those islands to submit to the English government 1.

Bridgetown, in Barbadoes, was destroyed by fire 2.

Jonathan Mitchel, minister of Cambridge, died, at the age of forty-three years 3. Henry Flint, minister of Braintree 4, Samuel Shepard, minister of Rowley, and John Eliot, minister of Newtown Village, died this year 5.

1669.

The first assembly was constituted and convened in Albemarle county in Carolina 6. One of the laws of this assembly indicates the state of religion and morals. It was entitled "an act concerning marriage;" and it declared, that, as people might wish to marry, and there being yet no ministers, in order that none might be hindered from so necessary a work for the preservation of mankind, any two persons, carrying before the governor and council a few of their

1 Univ. Hist. xli. 169.

2 Salmon, Chronological History, i. 193.

3 Mather, Magnal. book iv. 158—185. Morton, 200—204. Hutchinson, i. 260. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 47—51. Mr. Mitchel possessed a capacious mind, and extraordinary talents; and is always mentioned by the New England writers, as one of the most learned men and best preachers in his day. He was also distinguished for the sweetness of his temper, for his meekness, humility, and piety. He was about 18 years in the ministry at Cambridge; and "was most intense and faithful" in performing its sacred duties.

4 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 122. Morton (200.) says, he was a man of known piety, gravity, and integrity, and of other accomplishments; and Hubbard, [MS. N. Eng. chap. lxix.], that he was an eminent minister.

5 Morton, 200, 204. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxix. The two last named ministers, though of early standing in the ministry, are represented as very worthy and useful men. Mr. Eliot (who died at the age of about [illegible] years) was the son of the celebrated minister of Roxbury; and he followed the example of his father, in endeavouring to Christianize the Indians. Ib. Gookin [Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 171.] says, he was a very excellent preacher in the English tongue; that, beside preaching to his English congregation, he, for several years, preached the gospel to the Indians, once a week constantly at Pakemit, and sometimes at Natick, and other places; and that the most judicious Christian Indians (as he had often heard them say) esteemed him as a most excellent preacher in their language. Gardiners, i. 525. A constitution had been given to that colony in 1665. The governor was to act altogether by the advice of a council of seven, the one half of which he was empowered to appoint, the other half were to be chosen by the assembly. The assembly was composed of the governor, of the council, and of 12 delegates chosen annually by the freeholders. Ib. 524.

neighbours, and declaring their mutual assent, shall be deemed husband and wife [1].

The inhabitants of Boston being now so numerous, that the two houses of worship could not contain them, and some of the brethren of the first church being dissatisfied with Mr. Davenport on account of his leaving New Haven for a settlement there [2]; a third church was gathered in May, of which Mr. Thomas Thatcher was ordained the first pastor; and an edifice was built on the main street, for its use [3].

The friendly Indians in New England, having raised an army of six or seven hundred men, marched into the country of the Mohawks, to take revenge for their injuries [4]. After besieging one of their forts several days, their provisions becoming spent, with all their ammunition, and some of their number being taken sick, they abandoned the siege, and retreated toward home; but they were pursued and intercepted by the Mohawks; and, though they fought with great valour, their commander [5] and about fifty of their chief men were slain. This was the last and most fatal battle, fought between the Mohawks and the New England Indians [6].

Sir

1 Chalmers, i. 525. "During almost 20 years we can trace nothing of clergymen in the history or laws of Carolina." Ibid.

2 On the death of Mr. Wilson, he was invited to the pastoral care of the first church in Boston, and accepted the invitation. Hutchinson, i. 270.

3 Neal, N. Eng. i. 584. Hutchinson, i. 260, 270—274. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 258; iv. 211. The church was built of cedar. Ib.

4 There had been a war between these nations about six years. This enterprize of the Indians was contrived without the knowledge, and undertaken contrary to the advice, of their English friends. "Mr. Eliot and myself, in particular (says Mr. Gookin,) dissuaded them, and gave them several reasons against it, but they would not hear us; but the praying Indians were so cautioned by our advice, that not above five of them went and all of them were killed, but one." Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 166.

5 Josiah, alias Chickatawbut, the principal sachem of Massachusetts. Gookin says, he was a wise and stout man of middle age, but a very [illegible] person. He was a descendant of Chickatawbut formerly mentioned [illegible] p. 216.] For a time he seemed attentive to the Christian religion; [illegible] he was bred up by his uncle, Kuchamakin, who was the [illegible] sachem [illegible] his people, to whom Mr. Eliot preached." Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 16[illegible] President Adams showed me a deed of Braintree, given by India[illegible] to the inhabitants of that town between the years 1660 and 167[illegible]

6 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 166, 167. It does not appear, what oth[illegible] beside the Massachusetts, were concerned in this expedition. [illegible] says, Josiah was "the chiefest general; but there were divers o[illegible] mores and stout men that assisted." The march of the Indian army [illegible] about 200 miles. The Mohawks laid an ambush for the retreating enem[illegible] in a defile, with thick swamps on each side, and fought to the greatest advantage.

Sir Thomas Temple having but partially executed the king's order for the surrender of Acadie to the French, agreeably to the treaty of Breda, a definitive order had been transmitted to him, to deliver up that territory, according to the letter of the agreement; and it was effectually obeyed [1].

Charles II. gave to prince Rupert, and several lords, knights, and merchants, associated with him, a charter, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers trading from England to Hudson's Bay [2]."

Richard Mather, minister of Dorchester, died, at the age of seventy-three years [3].

vantage. The reason of the loss of such a number of *chiefs* was, that almost all the stoutest leaders and sagamores pursued the Mohawks into the thickets. Ibid.

1 Chalmers, i. 393. Brit. Emp. i. 173, 174. He at first refused to give up the forts of Pentagoet, St. John, Port Royal, La Have, and Cape Sable, alledging that they did not belong to Acadie. Ibid.

2 Univ. Hist. xli. 87. Brit. Emp. i. 4—22, where the charter is entire. See A. D. 1668. The charter ceded to them the whole trade of the waters within the entrance of Hudson's Straits, and of the adjacent territories. The entire sum, which constitutes the original funds of the company, amounts to 10,500 *l.* sterling. The general opinion is, that the proprietors of this stock, who are at present not 90 in number, gain about 2000 per cent. No trade in the world is so profitable, as this. Forster, Voy. 378—380.

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxix. Hutchinson, i. 259. He was ordained by Dr. Morton, bishop of Chester, in 1618; and silenced by Dr. Neale, archbishop of York, in 1634. Pres. Stiles, Lit. Diary. He came to New England in 1635, and arrived on the coast 15 August, when he, with all the passengers, very narrowly escaped shipwreck by the tremendous storm, which occurred that day. [See p. 233 of this volume.] After the removal of Mr. Warham, with the first church of Dorchester, to Windsor, a new church was gathered, and Mr. Mather was installed the pastor. He was an exemplary man, a good scholar, and a solid, practical preacher. He wrote several treatises, which were well received; and he was generally consulted in difficulties relating to church government. He wrote the Discourse about church government, and the Answer to the XXXII questions, in behalf of the ministers of New England, both published in 1643; and the Platform of Church Discipline, in 1648, was chiefly taken from the *model*. Attending a council at Boston 16 April, he was seized with a strangury, and died on the 22nd of that month. Mather, Mag. iii. 122—130. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 99; ix. 170—172.

1670.

The proprietaries of Carolina having procured two ships for the transportation of adventurers to their projected settlement; William Sayle, appointed the first governor, embarked with a colony of settlers, with provisions, arms, and utensils for building and cultivation. On his arrival at Port Royal he began to carry his instructions into execution [1]. He issued writs to the freeholders for the election of the complement of the grand council, and of twenty delegates, the two bodies composing the parliament, which was invested with legislative power. As an encouragement to settle at Port Royal, one hundred and fifty acres of land were given to every emigrant, at an easy quit rent; clothes and provisions were distributed, from the store of the proprietaries, to those, who could not provide for themselves; and, to secure the good will of the neighbouring tribes, considerable presents were made to the Indian princes [2].

A bloody war between the Westoes and the Serannas, two Indian nations in Carolina, was carried on with such fury, as to prove fatal to both. This event providentially opened the way to the introduction and establishment of the English colony [3].

The treaty of Madrid was made between England and Spain, for ascertaining the American territories of both kingdoms. By this treaty it was agreed, that each should retain what it then possessed: and that the subjects of neither should enter the fortified places of the other, for pur-

1 Gov. Sayle's commission is dated 26 July, 1669. He was constituted governor of that part of the coast, lying southwestward of Cape Carteret. The expence of the equipment was 12,000 *l.* sterling. Sayle was accompanied by Joseph West, who was entrusted with the commercial affairs of the proprietaries. These noblemen were, for some time, the only merchants for the supply of the wants of the colonists, rather than the requirement of profit. They employed vessels, *to carry on a* traffic, for the purpose of procuring colonists, cattle, and provisions from Virginia, Bermudas, and Barbadoes, and of carrying off the products of the land. "Before the year 1679 they had expended on a project, which had then only yielded them vexation and poverty." Chalmers, i. 529. Drayton, S. Carol. 101.

2 Chalmers, i. 530. Drayton S. Carol. 101.

3 Hewet, i. 64. The Westoes are said to have been a numerous powerful tribe. Ib. The Catawba nation mustered, at that time, 1500 fighting men. Drayton, S. Carol. 94. Governor Drayton (ib. 93.) "hazards an opinion," that the number of the natives in Carolina, at the same time, was "perhaps not less than 30 or 40 thousand souls."

poses

poses of trade [1]. In consequence of this treaty, the pirates, or bucaniers, who, for several years, had greatly annoyed Spanish America, were cut off from all future protection from England; and all commissions to them were annulled [2].

The election of governor, magistrates, and civil officers, in Connecticut, hitherto consummated by the body of the people, convened on the day of general election at Hartford, was now allowed by the legislature to be completed by proxy; and a law was made, for regulating the freemen's meetings, and the mode of election [3].

A considerable number of the inhabitants of New Haven removed to Wallingford, about this time, and began the settlement of that town, which was at first called New Haven Village [4]. Massacoe was made a distinct town by the name of Symsbury [5]. Deerfield, in Massachusetts, began to be built [6].

A mortal disease broke out among the Indians in the north of Canada, and swept off whole tribes, particularly the tribe of the Attikamegues, who have never since been heard of, under that name. Tadoussac, the chief mart of the Indian fur trade with the French, began to be deserted, as also Trois Rivieres, where the small pox carried off fifteen hundred Indians at once [7].

1 Chalmers, i. 11. It was called the American Treaty. Univ. Hist. xli. 358. From this time until A. D. 1702, a considerable trade was carried on by the English from Jamaica with the Spaniards; by which the English, for goods, negroes, and flour, received, by computation, from 250 to 300,000 *l.* a year. *Polit. Tracts in Harv. Coll. Library.*

2 Anderson, ii. 504.

3 Trumbull, i. 333. The *original choice* of public officers was made then, as it is still, by the freemen of the colony in their respective towns. Ib. See Connecticut Laws, p. 151.

4 Trumbull, Century Sermon, 22. Dr. Trumbull [Hist Connect. i. 333.] says, it was incorporated that year by the name of Wallingford; that was purchased by governor Eaton, Mr. Davenport, and other planters of New Haven, in 1638; that its settlement was projected in 1669; and a committee was appointed by the town of New Haven, with powers to manage the whole affair of the settlement.

5 Trumbull, i. 332. The settlement of the town was made about this time. The lands lay on Tunxis river. In 1644, the general court of Connecticut gave leave to governors Hopkins and Haynes to dispose of them with the inhabitants of Windsor, as they should judge expedient; and 1647 resolved, that those lands should be purchased by the country. The purchase was made of the Indians, and settlements began under the jurisdiction of Windsor, of which, at first, this plantation was considered an appendix. Ib.

6 Williams, Vermont, 250.

7 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 428. Univ. Hist. xl. 5.

John Davenport, minister at Boston [1], John Allin, minister of Dedham [2], and John Warham, minister of Windsor, died, this year [3].

1671.

Governor Sayle, dissatisfied with the situation at Port Royal, removed to the northward, and took possession of a neck of land, between Ashly and Cooper rivers. Deputies, authorized to assist the governor, soon after arrived, bringing with them twenty-three articles of instruction, called Temporary Agrarian Laws, intended for the equitable division of lands among the people; and the plan of a magnificent town, to be laid out on the neck of land between the above named rivers, and to be called, in honour of the king, Charlestown [4]. Go-

1 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 51—57. Trumbull, i. 490—492. Mr. Davenport died of an apoplexy, Ætat. LXXIII. He was the first minister of New Haven, whence he removed to Boston in 1677. He possessed an energetic mind, and is characterized as a hard student, an universal scholar, a laborious, prudent, exemplary minister, and a man of eminent piety. Hubbard [MS. N. Eng. chap. lxix.] says, that Mr. Davenport was "a person beyond exception and compare for all ministerial abilities; and upon that account highly esteemed and accepted in both Englands." He was profound in counsel, and intrepid in action. When the pursuers of king Charles' judges were coming to New Haven, he preached publicly from this text (Isai. xvi. 3, 4.): *Take counsel, execute judgment, make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noon day, hide the outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab, be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler.* "It was Davenport's intrepidity, that saved the judges." Pres. Stiles' Hist. Judges of Charles I. 32, 69. See p. 314 of this volume. There is a portrait of Mr. Davenport at Yale College.

2 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 132, 133. Mr. Allen took the pastoral care of the church of Dedham the same year in which it was gathered (1638.) He was a judicious and able divine, and was distinguished in polemic divinity. He died in the LXXVth year of his age. Ib.

3 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 121. Trumbull, i. 492. Mr. War[illegible] distinguished for his piety; but was subject to melancholy. He posed to have been the first minister in New England, who used preaching; "yet he was applauded by his hearers, as one of the mos[illegible] mated and energetic preachers of his day." He was one of the pri[illegible] pillars of the churches of Connecticut. Ibid.

4 Hewet, i. 49—52. Ramsay, S. Carol. i. 3. The proprietaries mean time, dissatisfied with every system previously created for th[illegible] vince, signed in July a body of Fundamental Constitutions, whi[illegible] been compiled by the celebrated John Locke; assigning as a reason, "t[illegible] we may establish a government agreeable to the monarchy, of which Ca[illegible] rolina is a part, that we may avoid making too numerous a democracy." By this edict a palatine was to be chosen from among the proprietaries for life,

Governor Sayle falling a victim to the climate [1], the command of Sir John Yeamans, who had hitherto discreetly ruled the plantation around Cape Fear, was now extended over that, which lay southwestward of Cape Carteret. The shores, the streams, and the country, having now been accurately surveyed, the planters, from Clarendon on the north, as well as from Port Royal on the south, resorted to the banks of Ashley river, as furnishing the most eligible situation for settlement [2]; and here was now laid the foundation of Old Charles Town [3]. The province was now divided into four coun-

life, who was empowered to act as president of the palatine court, composed of the whole: A body of hereditary nobility was created and denominated landgraves and caciques, because they were to be in name unlike those of England. The provincial legislature, dignified with the name of parliament, was to be biennial, and to consist of the proprietaries, or of the deputy of each; of the nobility; of the representatives of the freeholders of every district; and, like the ancient Scottish parliament, all were to meet in one apartment, and every member to enjoy an equal vote; no business however was to be proposed until it had been debated in the grand council, to be composed of the governor, the nobility, and deputies of proprietors. The church of England alone was to be allowed a maintenance by parliament; but every congregation might tax its own members for the support of its own ministers; and to every one was allowed perfect freedom in religion. "Yet," says Chalmers, "the most degrading slavery was introduced by investing in every freeman the property of his negro." This government was intended to be the miniature of the old Saxon constitution. These Fundamental Constitutions, consisting of 120 articles, though declared to be the sacred and unalterable rule of government in Carolina for ever, were instantly discovered to be wholly inapplicable to the circumstances of an inconsiderable colony, and, in a variety of cases, to be altogether impracticable, and were therefore immediately changed. Mr. Locke was not long after, in reward of his services, created a landgrave; but, were it not for the writings, by which his name is immortalized, he, like the other Carolinian nobles, had been consigned to oblivion. Chalmers, i. 526—529. Univ. Hist. xl. 423. Biblioth. Americ. [99.] mentions Fundamental Constitutions of Caro-, printed at London, in quarto, in 1669.

death is ascribed to "the damps of the climate."

Chalmers, i. 530. "For the convenience of pasture and tillage."

Chalmers, i. 530. This town was built "on the first high land;" was for some years the capital of the southern settlements. Ib. A. D. 1680.] "Its site is now known [1802] as part of a plantation, called *Town*, belonging to Mr. Elias Lynch Horry. Several grants of land in its vicinity "bound on Old Charlestown, or Old Town Creek." No vestige of a town however are now to be seen there, excepting a small hollow running directly across the point of land on which the town stood, said tradition to be a wide ditch, made for the purpose of defence against the Indians. Little of it can now be seen; but it can be traced quite across the point of land where Old Charlestown stood. Drayton, S. Carol. 200. In answer to some inquires concerning the history and antiquities of Carolina,

counties, called Berkeley, Colleton, Craven, and Carteret counties; and the people, who had hitherto lived under a kind of military government, began to form a legislature for establishing civil regulations [1].

The first act in Virginia for the naturalization of aliens was passed this year. All the freemen in that colony, supposed to be nearly eight-thousand, were bound to train every month [2]. There were five forts in the colony [3]; but not more than thirty serviceable great guns. The Indian neighbours were absolutely subjected. The colony contained about forty-thousand persons, men, women, and children; of whom two-thousand were black slaves, and six-thousand, Christian servants [4].

The assembly of Maryland passed acts for "encouraging

Dr. Ramsay wrote to me: "We have no early records of our first settlers. The records in our public offices about the year 1680, or even 1700, are scarcely legible. A durable ink, to stand a climate, is a desideratum."

1 Hewet, i. 60. Ten members were elected as representatives for Colleton county, and ten, for Berkeley. A committee, appointed to frame some public regulations, proposed these three; the first, to prevent persons from leaving the colony; the second, to prohibit all men from disposing of arms and ammunition to Indians; and the third, for the regular building of Charlestown. Ibid.

2 "Horse we have none; because they would be too chargeable to the poor people." Gov. Berkeley.

3 "But," says Berkeley, "we have neither skill nor ability to make or maintain them; for there is not, nor, as far as my enquires can reach, ever was one engineer in the country."

4 Chalmers, i. 315, 325, 337. It was judged, there arrived annually at Virginia about 1500 servants, of which most were English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish; and above two or three ships of negroes in seven years. Nearly 80 ships came out of England and Ireland every year for tobacco; a few New England ketches: "but of our own," says Berkeley, "we never yet had more than two at a time, and those not more than 20 tons burden." This account of Virginia in the *sixty-fourth* year of its existence, is taken from Answers of the famous Sir William Berkeley to Inquiries of the lords of the committee of colonies. See those Answers entire in Chalmers, i. 325—328. The 23d answer, which includes the whole, is characteristic of the man, as well as descriptive of the colony: "The course is taken here, for instructing the people, as there is in England. Out of towns every man instructs his own children, according to his ability. We have 48 parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my [illegible] should be better, if they would pray oftener, and preach less. [illegible] of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and [illegible] few that we can boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's [illegible] drove divers worthy men hither. Yet, I thank God, there are [illegible] schools, nor printing; and I hope we shall not have, these hundreds [illegible] For learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects, into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government: God keep up from both!"

the

the importation of negroes and slaves;" for making void and punishing fraudulent practices, tending to defraud real purchasers and creditors, for quieting possessions; for the advancement of foreign coins; and for the encouragement of the sowing and making of hemp and flax [1].

Philip, chief sachem of Pokanoket, pretending some trifling injuries done to him in his planting land, was ready to break out into an open war with the inhabitants of Plymouth; but, on a formal inquiry into the controversy, he acknowledged, that his meditated hostilities were without provocation, and, together with his council, subscribed an instrument of submission [2].

Articles of agreement were made between the court of Plymouth colony and Awasúncks, the squaw sachem of Saconnet [3].

The Indians of Dartmouth and its vicinity, to the number of between forty and fifty, entered into an engagement of fidelity to the English [4].

The number of men from sixteen to sixty years of age, in Connecticut, was two thousand and fifty [5]. The town of Derby, in that colony, was settled [6].

A grand

1 Chalmers, i. 362.

2 Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 51, 52. Hutchinson, i. 279. I. Mather, 74. Philip appears to have been on very good terms with the English, the next year, and to have maintained a princely credit among them. I have before me a copy of a letter, which he then sent, by an Indian, "To the honoured capt. *Hopestill Foster* at Dorchester," in which, after reminding him of a promise, that he had made him of 6 *l.* in goods, he adds: "My request is, that you will send 5 yards of white or light coloured serge to make me a coat, and a good Holland Shirt ready made, and a pair of good Indian Breeches, all which I have present need of: therefore I pray, Sir, fail not to send them by my Indian, and with them the several prices of them, and silk and buttons, and 7 yards of Gallown for trimming." The letter is dated "Mount Hope, the 15th of May, 1672." It closed with "the subscription of king Philip. His majesty: p. P." This letter, and some other rare historical morsels, I am indebted to my [illegible] and worthy friend, the reverend THADDEUS M. HARRIS, who kindly sent me his "Memoranda relating to the Geography, History, and Antiquities of America." He obtained the letter from a copy on file in the town of Dorchester, attested by Noah Clap, town clerk.

3 Mass. Hist. Soc. v. 193. Her people had given umbrage.

4 Ibid. 194. They signed a written agreement. Dartmouth is in Plymouth colony.

5 Chalmers, i. 209.

6 Trumbull, i. 336, 337. The Indian name of the place was Paugasset. Attempts had been made to settle it, during 18 or 20 years. Governor Goodyear and several other gentlemen in New Haven purchased a considerable tract there, in 1653; and "some few settlements" were made there soon after. In 1657 and 1659 a purchase was made of the lands of the

A grand congress of the French and of many of the Canadian Indians was holden at St. Mary's Fall; and the Indians professed submission to the king of France 1.

1672.

The commerce of the American colonies had already been regulated and restrained, by the parliament of England. The parliament, now considering the colonies as proper objects of taxation, enacted: That if any vessel, which by law may trade in the plantations, shall take on board any enumerated commodities, and a bond, with sufficient security, shall not have been given to unlade them in England, there shall be rendered to his majesty, for sugars, tobacco, ginger, cocoa nut, indigo, logwood, fustic, cotton, wool, the several duties mentioned in the law, to be paid in such places in the plantations, and to such officers, as shall be appointed to collect them. For the better collection of those taxes, it was enacted: that the whole business shall be managed, and the impost shall be levied, by officers, who shall be appointed by commissioners of the customs in England under the authority of the lords of the treasury. The duties of tonnage and poundage had been imposed, and extended to every dominion of the crown, at the Restoration; but this was the first act, which imposed customs on the colonies alone, to be regularly collected by colonial revenue officers 2.

The Spanish garrison at Augustine receiving intelligence of a civil dissension in Carolina, a party advanced from that fortress, under arms, as far as the island of St. Helena, to dislodge or destroy the settlers; but fifty volunteers, under the command of colonel Godfrey, marching against them, they evacuated the island, and retreated to Augustine 3.

The union between the three colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, was renewed at Plymouth, by commissioners duly authorized, who subscribed new articles of confederation 4.

the chief sagamores, Westanamow and Raskenute. The planters for town privileges in 1671; but their number was so small, th were not allowed to be incorporated until 1675. Ibid.

1 Charlevoix, i. 488, 489. Univ. Hist. xl. 8, 9.

2 Chalmers, i. 317, 318. The commissioners of the customs did ingly appoint collectors for Virginia, who were well received "in t loyal dominion." Ibid. 320.

3 Hewet, i. 63.

4 Hazard, Coll. ii. 521—526, where the Articles are inserted entire. The

An insurrection was made in New Jersey, to evade the payment of quit rents. The insurgents expelled Carteret, and appointed another governor [1].

The first code of Connecticut laws was printed; and the assembly enacted, that every family should have a law book [2].

A mission was attempted, about this time, from Massachusetts to the Massawomeks. Six or seven Indians one of whom was a teacher, accompanied by other persons, who could speak both the English and Indian languages, were employed in this pious design; but, after proceeding to Connecticut river, they returned home, discouraged [3].

The general court of Massachusetts passed a new act, of confirming the charter of Harvard College, and for encouraging donations to that seminary [4].

From the gathering of the first church in Massachusetts at Salem, in 1629, to this time, forty churches were gathered, and one hundred and twenty towns built, in New England [5].

The names of the commissioners, who subscribed them, were John Winthorpe, James Richards, Thomas Prince, Josias Winslow, Thomas Danforth, and William Hawthorn. The proportion of men for any general service was settled, for 15 years to come, as follows: Massachusetts, 100; Plymouth, 30; Connecticut, 60. Ibid. Hutchinson, i. 283. A particular reason for the renewal of the confederation, with some alterations, was, that New Haven and Connecticut had now become one colony.

1 Chalmers, i. 616.

2 Trumbull, i. 226, 338. It was printed at Cambridge; and consisted of between 70 and 80 pages, in small folio. The colony had previously kept its laws in manuscript, and had promulgated them by sending copies to be publicly read in the respective towns. The compiler of this code was Roger Ludlow, esquire. Ibid.

3 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 157, 158. This mission took its rise from Indian intelligence of such a people, "great and numerous," 3 or 400 miles southwesterly from Boston, who spake, or at least understood, the language of the New England Indians. The missionaries were provided with Indian [illegible]s, primers, catechisms, and other books, translated into the Indian language, and with necessaries, to the expence of 30 or 40*l*. Gookin, ib. [illegible]l, N. Eng. i. 391. The first college edifice being small and de[illegible] collection was made this year for erecting a new building. It [illegible]d to 1895*l*. 2*s*. 9*d*. In Boston were collected 800*l*. of which 100*l*. [illegible]n by Sir Thomas Temple, "as true a gentleman," says C. Mather, [illegible]s sat foot on the American strand." Hutchinson, i. 284. The [illegible]ortsmouth, "which was now become the richest" in New Hamp[illegible]de a subscription of 60*l*. per annum for seven years. Dover gave [illegible]d Exeter, 10*l*. Belknap, N. Hamp. i. 117. These donations in [illegible]pshire were made earlier (1669), but for the same purpose. Ibid.

4 D. 1677.

5 Josselyn, N. Eng. Rar. 105.

War

War having been recently declared in England against the Dutch, it was proclaimed at Boston in May 1.

Manisses [Block Island] was made a township by the name of New Shoreham 2.

The town of New Castle, on the Delaware, was incorporated by the government of New York. It was to be subject to the direction of a bailiff, who was constituted president of the corporation, and six assistants 3.

The Scahcook Indians, about this time, left their country, lying eastward of Massachusetts, and settled above Albany, on the branch of Hudson's river, that runs toward Canada 4.

M. de Courcelles, governor of Canada, built a fort on the north side of the east entrance of Lake Ontario 5.

Richard Bellingham, governor of Massachusetts, died, aged upward of eighty years 6. Charles Chauncy, president of Harvard College, died, in the eighty-second year of his age 7.

1673.

1 Hutchinson, i. 283. This was the first instance of a public declaration of war in that colony. In the preceding Dutch wars with England, until forces came to reduce Manhattan, correspondence and commerce continued between the English and Dutch colonies. Ibid.

2 Callender, 39. After conjecturing the origin of the name of Block Island (See p. 238.), I discovered it, in Laet (71.): "Extima insularum est quam Navarchus *Adrianus Block* de suo nomine appellavit."

3 Smith, N. Jersey, 72. Encyc. Brit. v. 718. The inhabitants were now entitled to a free trade, without being obliged, as formerly, to make entry at New York. Ibid.

4 Colden, Five Nat. 95.

5 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 143. Minot, Mass. i. 181. Courcelles projected this fort as a barrier against the Iroquois; but he persuaded those Indians, after caressing them, and making them presents, that he intended it merely as a place of trade, for their mutual accommodation. "Ils ne s'a perçurent pas d'abord que, sous prétexte de chercher leur utilité, le gouverneur n'avoit en vûë, que de les tenir en bride, et de s' assûrer un entrepôt pour ses vivres et ses munitions," &c. Charlevoix, ibid.

6 Neal, N. Eng. 390. He had lived to be the only surviving [illegible] named in the charter. Hutchinson, i. 269. Hubbard, [MS. chap. lxx.] says, "he was a notable hater of bribes;" and [illegible] comprehension, than expression."

7 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxix. Hutchinson, [i. 269.] he president Chauncy's death in 1671, not adverting to the old computation. I. Mather, in his Discourse on comets, remarks was a total eclipse of the sun in N. England August 12, A. D. day before the commencement, and that year the College was by the death of the learned President there, worthy M. Chauncy late president Willard corrected the date, in the catalogues of Harv College. President Chauncy was an indefatigable student, and a ve learned and pious man. He was eminently skilled in all the learned languages, especially in the oriental. Before he came to America, he was chosen

1673.

A second Dutch war having recently commenced, a small squadron was sent from Holland, under the conduct of Binkes and Evertzen, to destroy the commerce of the English colonies in America. This service they effectually performed on the Virginian coast; and, procuring intelligence of the defenceless state of New York, they seized the opportunity to regain what had been formerly lost. On their arrival at Staten Island, the commander of the fort at New York sent a messenger, and made his peace with the enemy. On that very day the Dutch ships moored under the fort, landed their men, and entered the garrison, without giving or receiving a single shot. The city instantly followed the example of the fort; and, soon after, all New Netherlands consented to the same humiliating submission 1.

Lord Culpeper, having in 1669 purchased the shares of his associates in the Virginian grant, now obtained from king Charles a lease, for thirty-one years, of the quit rents, escheats, and other casualties of the whole 2.

New England is supposed to have contained, at this time, about one hundred and twenty thousand souls, of whom about sixteen thousand were able to bear arms. The town of Boston contained fifteen hundred families 3. The militia of

chosen Hebrew Professor in the University of Cambridge in England, where he was educated; but, instead of that office, he was made Greek Professor. While minister of Ware, he made submission to the High Commission Court (Feb. 11, 1635.); but he soon repented of that submission, and, before he came to N. England, made a solemn "Retractation," which was afterward printed in London. Mather, Magnal. book iii. 133—141.

1 Smith, N. York, 29. Chalmers, i. 579. All the magistrates and constables from East Jersey, Long Island, Esopus, and Albany were immediately summoned to New York; and the greater part of them swore allegiance to the States General, and the Prince of Orange. This contribution extended to the whole province of New Jersey. Smith, ibid. Chalmers, i. 330. See A. D. 1649.

2 Chalmers, i. 43, 435. "Observations made by the curious in New England about the year 1673," given to Randolph for his direction, contain, in addition to what is inserted in the text, the following statements: There be 3 iron works which cast no guns. There are 15 merchants worth about 50,000 *l.* or about 500 *l.* one with another. 500 persons, worth 1000 *l.* each. No house in N. England has above 20 rooms. Not one in Boston hath 10 rooms each. The worst cottages in N. England are well suited. No beggars. Not three persons put to death for theft annually. There are no musicians by trade. A dancing school was set up; but put down. A fencing school is allowed. All cordage, sail cloth, and nets, come

of Connecticut amounted to two thousand and seventy men [1].

A number of religious people from Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, and that vicinity, planted the township of Northfield, on Connecticut river [2].

Count Frontenac completed the fort at Ontario, begun the preceding year by Courcelles, and called it after his own name [3]. The French also built a fort this year at Michilimackinac [4].

Father Marquette, and Joliet a citizen of Quebec, employed by M. Talon for the discovery of the Missisippi, entered that noble river on the seventeenth of June; and, after descending it, until they came within three days journey of the gulf of Mexico, they returned toward Canada [5].

Thomas Prince, governor of Plymouth colony, died, at the age of seventy-three years [6].

1674.

All the freemen of Carolina, meeting by summons at Charlestown, elected representatives, to make laws for the government of the colony. There were now a colonial governor, an upper and a lower house of assembly; and these three branches took the name of parliament, agreeably to

come from England. No cloth made there worth 4s. a yard. No linen above 2s. 6d. No allum, nor copperas, nor salt, made by their sun." Chalmers, ibid.

1 Trumbull, i. 340. One quarter were mounted as dragoons.

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. ii. 80. The Indian name of the place was Squawkeague. The English town was laid out on both sides of the river, 6 miles in breadth, and 12 in length. The planters built small huts, and covered them with thatch: made a place for public worship; and built a stockade and fort. The township was granted "to Messrs. Pinchion, Piersons, and their associates, in 1672." Ibid.

3 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 444. Smith, N. York, 44. Chalmers, i. 587.

4 Minot, Mass. i. 181.

5 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 454—457. *Univ. Hist.* xl. 12. French received information of this river from the *natives*. Cha (ib.) says, Marquette and Joliet went toward the 33d d. of "jusques aux *Akansas*." Encyc. Methodique [Geog. *Art.* M they descended from 43 deg. 20 min. to 33 deg. 40 min. Ferdi Soto had discovered the country on the Missisippi, 130 years bef dying toward the close of the expedition, the Spaniards di fit to settle it. Encyc. Methodique, Geog. *Art.* LOUISIANE. S 1542.

6 Morton [Supplement,] 206. He was an upright and very magistrate; a pious and exemplary man. He was a distinguished patr of learning, and procured revenues for the support of grammar schools in Plymouth colony. Mather, Magnal. book ii. 6.

the

the constitutions. This was the first parliament, that passed acts, which were ratified by the proprietaries, and preserved in the records of the colony [1]. The proprietaries transmitted to Carolina vines and other useful plants, and men skilled in the management of them [2].

Atreaty of peace between England and the States General of Holland was signed at Westminster. The sixth article of this treaty restored New Netherlands to the English [3], and the English territories in Guiana to the Dutch [4]. On this pacification, the duke of York, to remove all doubt and controversy respecting his property in America, took out a new patent from the king; and commissioned major Edmund Andros to be governor of New York and all his territories in these parts. The Dutch, in October, resigned their authority to Andros, who immediately received the submission of the inhabitants, as far westward as Delaware [5].

Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, completed his Historical Collections of the Indians, in New England; which furnish an authentic account of their numbers, customs, manners, religion, government, and condition [6].

Quebec

1 Hewet, i. 74, 75. Sir John Yeamans, reduced to a feeble and sickly condition by the warm climate and his indefatigable labours for the success of the settlement, returned to Barbadoes, where he died. Ib. Joseph West, who is justly celebrated for his courage, wisdom, and moderation, succeeded him in the government. Ibid. Chalmers, i. 540.

2 Chalmers, i. 531.

3 Smith, N. York, 31. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 349.

4 Bancroft Guiana, 10. Encyc. Methodique, Geog. Art. SURINAM. Bancroft says, "in exchange;" but it was on the principle of *uti possidetis*; for the treaty provided, "that whatsoever may have been taken during the war, shall be restored to the former possessor. Chalmers, i. 579.

5 Smith, N. York, 32. Smith, N. Jersey, 110. Chalmers, i. 579. Trumbull, i. 341. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 362. Brit. Emp. ii. 210, 490.

6 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 142. This work was dedicated to king Charles II. ...ns to have been prepared for publication; but it was not pub... ...til the year 1792, when it was printed in the Collections of the ...usetts Historical Society [i. 141—227.] From this respectable ...y we learn the numbers of the principal Indian nations in N. ... in 1674. There were then within the jurisdiction of Massa-

	Men.
...he Pequods (formerly 4000 warriors) then containing	300
...he Narragansets (formerly 5000 do.) - - about	1000
The Pawkunnawkuts (formerly about 3000) nearly extinct	
The Massachusetts (formerly 3000) - - -	300
The Pawtuckets (formerly about 3000) - - -	250

There were, at that time, 7 old towns of Praying Indians:

1. Natick

Quebec was made a bishopric [1].
John Oxenbridge, minister of Boston, died [2].

1675.

Andros, governor of New York, made efforts to acquire the country, lying westward of Connecticut river; but he was effectually frustrated by the spirited conduct of the colony of Connecticut [3].

The

	Families.	Souls.
1. Natick	29	145
2. Pakemit, or Punkepaog, (Stoughton)	12	about 60
3. Hassanamesit (Grafton)	12	60
4. Okommakamesit (Marlborough)	10	50
5. Wamesit (Tewksbury)	15	75
6. Nashobah (Littleton)	10	50
7. Magunkaquog (Hopkinton)	11	55
	99	495

There were also seven other towns of Praying Indians, within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, which were called the New Praying towns in the Nipmuck country.

	Souls
Manchage [Oxford] contained	60
Chabanakongkum (Dudley)	45
Maanexit [N. E. part of Woodstock]	100
Quantisset [S. E part of Woodstock]	100
Wabquissit [S. W. corner of Woodstock]	150
Pakachoog [part of Worcester]	100
Wacuntug [Uxbridge] supposed	50
	605

In all 14 towns and about 1100 souls, "yielding obedience to the gospel."

In Plymouth colony, there were 497 praying Indians of whom 142 read Indian, 72 wrote, 9 read English. There were supposed to be upward of 100 more young Indian children, who had commenced learning, not included in this estimate. Martha's Vineyard contained at least 300 families, and they were generally praying Indians; and the island of Nantucket, about 300 families many of whom also were praying Indians.

1 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. Henault, ii. 174.

2 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 221. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 300. (Introd.) He was educated at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in England. In the persecution of Nonconformists, A. D. 1662, he went to Surinam; thence he went to Barbadoes; thence, in 16[illegible], to England, where he succeeded Mr. Davenport, as pastor of the first church in Boston. Magnal. ibid. He was one of "the most popular [illegible] in N. England. Chalmers, i. 455.

3 Chalmers, i. 581. That country had been conferred on the duke of York, though it had been possessed by the Connecticut colonists from the year 1637, and confirmed to them by a royal charter in 1662. Ib. On the intelligence, that Andros was about to invade the colony, and to demand a surrender of its most important posts to the government of the duke

The public revenue, arising from the customs on the productions of Virginia, amounted to one hundred thousand pounds a year. That colony now contained fifty thousand inhabitants [1].

The first English ship, that arrived at West Jersey, arrived this year [2].

The militia in the Province of Maine now amounted to seven hundred [3].

Two insurrections, raised in Virginia, this year, without grounds, and without concert, were easily suppressed [4].

The memorable war between Philip, king of the Wampanoags, and the New England colonists, now commenced. Sausaman, a friendly Indian, having given notice to the English of a plot, that he had discovered among Philip's Indians against the English, was soon after murdered. Three Indians, one of whom was a counsellor and particular friend of Philip, was convicted of the murder, at Plymouth court and executed [5]. Philip, apprehensive of personal danger, used no farther means to exculpate himself either from the charge of conspiracy, or of having concern is the death of Sausaman; but had recourse to arms. Finding his strength daily increasing, by the accession of neighbouring Indians, he prepared for war. The Indians,

duke of York, detachments of the militia of Connecticut were sent to New London and Saybrook. Andros arrived at Saybrook in July with an armed force, and demanded a surrender of the fortress and town; but captain Bull, of Hartford, arriving at this juncture with a party of militia, raised the king's colours, and made an instant show of readiness for resistance, which stopped their hostile procedure. The assembly of the colony, then in session, immediately drew up a protest, and sent it, by an express, to Saybrook, with instructions to captain Bull, to propose to major Andros a reference of the affair in dispute to commissioners. Andros, with his suit, was permitted to land. The proposal of reference to commissioners was rejected. Andros commanded, in his majesty's name, that the duke's patent, and his own commission, should be read. Bull, in his majesty's name, commanded him to forbear reading. His clerk attempted to persist in reading, Bull repeated his prohibition with energy, and with effect. He then read the assembly's protest. Andros, despairing of success, abandoned his design, and returned to New York. Trumbull, i. 346.

[1] Chalmers, i. 330.

[2] Smith's N. Jersey, 79. No other arrived for nearly two years.

[3] Chalmers, i. 507. The town of Kittery contained - - 183
York - - - - 80 Black Point - - 100
Wells and Cape Porpus - 80 Casco Bay - - - 80
Saco and Winter Harbour 100 Sagadahock - - - 80

[4] Chalmers, i. 329. "By the prudent vigour of the governor."

[5] This court was in June. Philip and several of his Indians had been previously examined; and, though they would own nothing, yet they "could not free themselves from just suspicion." Hubbard.

having sent their wives and children to the Narragansets for security, began to alarm the English at Swanzey. After offering them insolent menaces, they proceeded to kill their cattle, and rifle their houses. Provoked by these abuses, an Englishman discharged his gun at an Indian, and gave him a mortal wound. The Indians instantly fell on the English, and killed all in their power. Eight or nine were slain in Swanzey and its vicinity, on the twenty-fourth of June; and on that day the alarm of war was given in Plymouth colony. A company of foot, under captain Daniel Henchman, another company of horse, under captain Thomas Prentice, with one hundred and ten volunteers, marching from Boston, joined the Plymouth forces at Swanzey, on the twenty-eighth. Twelve men of the cavalry, toward the evening of the same day, passing over a bridge, that led into Philip's lands, for the purpose of discovery, were fired on by the Indians from the bushes; one was killed, and another, whose horse was shot down under him, was wounded. The next morning, the shout of war was heard at half a mile's distance; and nine or ten Indians showed themselves on the English side of the bridge. Their challenge was instantly accepted. All the horses with the entire body of volunteers under captain Mosely, chased them precipitately over the bridge, and pursued them a mile and a quarter beyond it. When the advanced soldiers were just retreating to the main guard, they discharged their guns on the Indians, who were running into a swamp, and killed five or six of them. This resolute charge of the English made great impression on the enemy; and Philip, with all his forces, left Mount Hope that very night, abandoning the country to the English [1].

Captain Hutchinson arriving as commissioner from Massachusetts government, with orders to treat with the Narragansets; it was resolved, the next morning, to march [illegible] the forces to make the treaty, sword in hand. A tr[illegible] was accordingly concluded on the fifteenth of July [illegible]

1 Hubbard, MS. N. chap. I. Ind. Wars, 78—87. Hutc[illegible] 286, 287. Church, 11—13. Callender, 73.

2 Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 65—67; Hutchinson, i. 280—291; [illegible] Articles are inserted. The date is "Petaquamscot, July 15, [illegible] commissioners for Massachusetts were major Thomas Savage, [illegible] ward Hutchinson, and Mr. Joseph Dudley; those for Connect[illegible] had been sent seasonably forward) were major Wait Winthrop, [illegible] Richard Smith. There were four Indians, who subscribed the treat[illegible] counsellors and attornies to Canonicus, Ninigret, Mattatog, old [illegible] Quaiapen, Quananshit, and Pomham, "the six present sachems of the whole

During this negociation for peace, captain Fuller and lieutenant Church [1] were dispatched with fifty men to Pocasset [2], to conclude a peace with the Indians, if pacific and friendly, or to fight them if hostile. They found the enemy on Pocasset Neck; but, such were their numbers, that, after some skirmishing, in which the English expended their ammunition, they, were taken off by water to Rhode Island. Church, hastening to the Massachusetts forces, borrowed three files of men of captain Henchman, with his lieutenant, and returned to Pocasset, where he had another skirmish with the enemy, in which fourteen or fifteen Indians were slain. This loss struck such a terror into Philip, that he betook himself to the swamps about Pocasset, where he lay secreted until the arrival of the other English forces from Narraganset. These forces arrived on the eighteenth of July, and resolutely charged the enemy in their recesses; but the Indians, taking advantage of the thick under wood, and firing at them, who first entered, killed five on the spot, and wounded four; and, deserting their wigwams, retired deeper into the swamp [3]. The English followed them in vain, until night approached, when the commander ordered a retreat. Most of the Massachusetts companies were now drawn off, and captain Henchman only, with a hundred foot, together with the Plymouth forces, was left to watch the motions of the enemy. It being impossible for the English to fight in the swamp, but to the greatest disadvantage, they resolved to starve out the enemy; but Philip, aware of the design, contrived means to escape, with the greatest part of his company [4]. Fleeing into the country of the

whole Narraganset country." Ibid. The Narragansets were still very powerful*. This tribe had promised Philip to rise, in the spring of 1676, with 4000 men; but this number, it is supposed, was meant to contain all the Indians within the bounds of Rhode Island, who, being under the authority of the great Narraganset sachem, were often called by this general name. Callender, 78. Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 126. Hutchinson,

8.

enjamin Church, afterward colonel, a hero of great fame.

ow Tiverton, &c. 11 miles from Taunton. Hubbard.

is swamp on Pocasset Neck is 7 miles long. The Indians had made wigwams here (about a hundred in all) of green bark, which left; but the materials would not admit them to burn. Ib.

e swamp being not far from an arm of the sea, extending up to on, the Indians, either taking advantage of a low tide, waded over d themselves over on small rafts of timber, very early, before break 1 August. About 100 women and children, left behind, soon resigned themselves to the mercy of the English. Hubbard. I. ather.

* *See p.* 351.

Nipmucks [1]. this ferocious and vindictive prince, kindled the flame of war in the western plantations of Massachusetts [2].

The Nipmuck Indians had already committed hostilities against the English. On the fourteenth of July they had killed four or five people at Mendon in Massachusetts [3]. The governor and council, in hopes of reclaiming the Nipmucks, sent captain Hutchinson with twenty horsemen to Quabaog [Brookfield,] near which place there was to be a great rendezvous of those Indians, who had promised to hold a treaty with the inhabitants of Brookfield. Hutchinson, with some of the principal people of that town, went to the place appointed; but, not finding the Indians, they proceeded four or five miles toward their chief town, until they were ambuscaded by two or three hundred Indians, who shot down eight of their company, and mortally wounded eight more [4]. The rest escaped through a by path to Quabaog. The Indians closely pursuing them, violently assaulted the town, killed several persons, and set fire to every house, excepting one, into which all the inhabitants had gathered for security [5]. This house they soon surrounded; and, after repeated attempts to set fire to it, they filled a cart with hemp, flax, and other combustible matter, which they kindled, and thrust toward it with long poles. At this critical moment, major Willard happily arrived with forty-eight dragoons, and dispersed them [6].

The Indians on Connecticut river, near Hadley, Hatfield, and Deerfield, and those at Penicook and other places on Merrimack river, began their hostilities about this time; and before the end of August the whole colony of Massachusetts was in the utmost terror. The Hadley Indians, by fleeing from their dwellings, betraying their conspiracy

1 About Worcester, Oxford, Grafton, Dudley, &c. *Church.*

2 Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 72, 73. Neal, N. Eng. ii. 1. Church, 21—

3 Mather, Ind. War, 5. Hutchinson, i. 291. "Blood was neve... in Massachusetts, in a way of hostility, before this day." *Mather.*

4 Captain Hutchinson, was one of the wounded. He was ca... Quabaog, and afterward to Marlborough, where he died 19... Hutchinson. The ambuscade was laid at a place called Memi... "a narrow passage between a steep hill and a thic... swamp, at... of Wickaboug pond." Coll. Hist. Soc. 259.

5 There were about 20 dwelling houses, and 70 s... uls in the to...

6 Mather, Ind. War, 6, 7. Hubbard, Ind. Wa... 111—11... chinson, i. 291—293. The next day (Aug. 5.) Phili... with about ... beside a much greater number of women and children, joined the ... muck Indians in a swamp, ten or twelve miles from Brookfield; about ... of them were armed with guns, the rest had bows and arrows. Ibid.

with

with the hostile Indians [1], were pursued by captains Lothrop and Beers, and overtaken about ten miles above Hatfield, at a place called Sugarloaf Hill, where a skirmish was fought, in which nine or ten of the English were slain, and about twenty-six Indians. The Indians, who escaped, joining with Philip and his company, was so emboldened, that, about seven days after, they fell upon Deerfield, killed one man, and laid most of the town in ashes. On the same day Hadley was alarmed by the Indians in the time of public worship, and the people thrown into the utmost confusion; but the enemy were repulsed by the valour and good conduct of an aged, venerable man, who suddenly appearing in the midst of the affrighted inhabitants, put himself at their head; led them to the onset; and, after the dispersion of the enemy, instantly disappeared. This deliverer of Hadley, then imagined to be an angel, was general Goffe, one of the judges of Charles I. who was, at that time concealed in the town [2].

Early in October, the Springfield Indians, who had been uniformly friendly to the English, having perfidiously concerted with the enemy to burn the town of Springfield, received in the night into their fort, about a mile from the town, above three hundred of Philip's Indians. The plot however being disclosed by a friendly Indian at Windsor, dispatches were immediately sent to major Treat, then at Westfield with the Connecticut troops, wh. arrived at Springfield so opportunely as to save considerable part of the town from the flames; but thirty two-houses were already consumed [3]. On the nineteenth of October, seven or eight hundred Indians furiously assailed the town of Hadley,

1 Philip and the Nipmuck Indians were harboured, at that time, in the adjacent woods. Hubbard.

2 Stiles' Hist. Judges, 109. Hutchinson, i. 219. See p. 314 of this volume. From N. Haven the judges Whalley and Goffe went to West Rock mountain about 300 feet high, and about two miles and a half from town; and were some time concealed in a cave "on the very top of rock, about half or three quarters of a mile from the southern extremity." Stiles, ib. 72, 76. They afterward lived in concealment at Milford, Derby, and at Branford; and, in 1664, removed from Milford to Hadley, where they were soon after joined by colonel Dixwell, another of the king's judges. Dixwell took the name of Davids, and some years before his removed to New Haven, where he married, and left several children. His grave stone may still be seen in the old burying ground in New Haven, with this inscription: "J. D. Esq. deceased March 18th, in the 80th year of his age, 1688."

3 Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 129—131. "The sad tidings of Springfield calamity" reached Boston 7 October, at the close of a day of Humiliation, appointed by the Council. Mather, Ind. War, 16. Trumbull, i. 351.

on all sides; but they were repulsed by the Connecticut and Massachusetts forces[1].

The commissioners of the three United Colonies having declared the war with the Indians to be just and necessary, had already concluded, that it should be jointly prosecuted by all those colonies[2]. Finding that the Narragansets, in violation of their engagements, were accessory to the hostilities of the enemy, they now determined, that one thousand soldiers should be raised, to march into the Narraganset country, to obtain satisfaction of those Indians, or to treat them as enemies. Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth, was appointed commander in chief. The Massachusetts forces marched from Boston on the eighth of December, and were soon joined by those of Plymouth. The troops from Connecticut joined them on the eighteenth, at Petyquamscot[3]. At break of day the next morning, they commenced their march, through a deep snow, toward the enemy, who were about fifteen miles distant in a swamp, at the edge of which they arrived at one in the afternoon. The Indians, apprized of an armament intended against them, had fortified themselves as strongly, as possible, within the swamp. The English, without waiting to draw up in order of battle, marched forward in quest of the enemy's camp. Some Indians, appearing at the edge of the swamp, were no sooner fired on by the English, than they returned the fire, and fled. The whole army now entered the swamp, and followed the Indians to their fortress. It stood on a rising ground in the midst of the swamp; and was composed of palisades, which were encompassed by a hedge, nearly a rod thick. It had but one practicable entrance,

1 Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 138. Hutchinson, i. 296.

2 Hazard, Coll. ii. 534. The commissioners for Plymouth colony presented to the body of commissioners a Narrative, "showing the manner beginning of the present war with the Indians of Mount Hope and set;" which was the basis of that determination. It is inserted ib 534. The meeting of the commissioners, at which the war was declar be just and necessary, was 9 Sept. 1675. They *then* concluded immediately 1000 soldiers out of the colonies, in such proportions articles of Confederation established: Massachusetts, 527; Plymo Connecticut, 315. Ibid. 535. At an adjourned meeting 2 Novem declared the Narragansets to be "deeply accessory in the present outrages" of the natives that were at open war, and determined, th *more* soldiers be raised, for the Narraganset expedition, "in like p tions in each colony, as the former were." Ib. 531.

3 The Connecticut troops consisted of 300 Englishmen, and 150 Mohegan and Pequod Indians; and were divided into 6 companies. This corps was commanded by major Treat. Trumbull, i. 354.

which

which was over a log or tree, four or five feet from the ground; and that aperture was guarded by a block house. Falling providentially on this very part of the fort, the English captains entered it, at the head of their companies. The two first, Johnson and Davenport, with many of their men, were shot dead at the entrance. Four other captains, Gardner, Gallop, Siely, and Marshal, were also killed. When the troops had effected an entrance, they attacked the Indians, who fought desperately, and beat the English out of the fort. After a hard fought battle of three hours, the English became masters of the place, and set fire to the wigwams. The number of them was five or six hundred, and in the conflagration many Indian women and children perished. The surviving Indian men fled into a cedar swamp, at a small distance; and the English retired to their quarters. Of the English there were killed and wounded about two hundred and thirty; of which number eighty-five were killed, or died of their wounds. Of the Indians one thousand are supposed to have perished [1].

The Massachusetts and Plymouth troops kept the field several weeks; but without any considerable achievement. The Connecticut troops, who had suffered most in the action, were so disabled, that it was judged necessary for them to return home. The great body of the Narraganset warriors soon after repaired to the Nipmuck country [2].

1676.

The Narragansets, in retreating from their country, drove off from one of the inhabitants of Warwick fifteen horses, fifty neat cattle, and two hundred sheep. On the tenth of February, several hundred of the Indians fell upon Lancaster; plundered and burned the greatest part of the town; killed or captivated forty persons. Two or three hundred of the Narraganset and other Indians, not long after, visited Medfield, and burned nearly one half of the town [3].

[1] Potock, an Indian counsellor of Narraganset afterward taken at R. Island and executed at Boston, acknowledged, that the Indians lost 700 men that day, beside 300, who died of their wounds. What number of old men, women, and children, perished by fire, or hunger and cold, the Indians themselves could not tell. Hubbard. Hubbard, Ind. Wars, 141—166. Mather, Ind. War, 19, 20. Hutchinson, i. 297—301. Trumbull, i. 353—359.

[2] Although there were 2 or 300 soldiers there, the Indians did that mischief, and killed about 18 persons, men, women, and children. I. Mather.

On the twenty-fifth of February, the Indians assaulted the town of Weymouth, and burned seven or eight houses and barns. On the thirteenth of March, they burned the whole town of Groton [1] to the ground, excepting four garrisoned houses; and, on the seventeenth, they entirely burned Warwick, with the exception of one house. On the twenty sixth of March, they laid most of the town of Marlborough in ashes [2]. On the same day, captain Pierce of Scituate, who had been sent out by the governor and council of Plymouth colony with about fifty English, and twenty friendly Indians of Cape Cod, was cut off by the enemy with most of his party. Two days afterward, the Indians fell upon Rehoboth, and burned forty dwelling houses, and about thirty barns; and, the day after, about thirty houses in Providence.

Although there were several parties of Indians scattered over the country, yet the main body of them lurked in the woods between Brookfield, Marlborough, and Connecticut river. Early in April they did some mischief at Chelmsford [3], Andover, and in the vicinity of those places [4]. Having, on the seventeenth of the same month, burned the few deserted houses at Marlborough, they, the next day, violently attacked Sudbury; burned several houses and barns; and killed ten or twelve of the English, who had come from Concord to the assistance of their neighbours. Captain Wadsworth, sent at this juncture from Boston with about fifty men, to relieve Marlborough, after having marched twenty-five miles, learning that the enemy had gone through the woods toward Sudbury, turned immediately back, in pursuit of them. When the troops were within a mile of the town, they espied, at no great distance, a party of Indians, apparently about one hundred; who, by retreating, as if through fear, drew the English about a mile into the woods; when a large body of the enemy, supposed to about five hundred, suddenly surrounded them, and

1 It contained about 40 dwelling houses. Its inhabitants now deser

2 The inhabitants were hence constrained to desert the town. W few houses were left were burnt by the Indians 19 April. I. Mat

3 Hubbard ascribes *this* mischief to the Indians of W ame it, a p Chelmsford, bordering on the Merrimack; but he does them the to say, that they "had been provoked by the rash, unadvised, cr of some of the English," toward the close of the preceding year. C FORD appears to have been incorporated about A. D. 1655; but not mentioned that year, because not noticed in the early histories.

4 Hubbard says, that on the 15th of April 15 hous were burnt on the *north* side of the river, near Chelmsford.

cluded

cluded the possibility of their escape. The gallant leader and his brave soldiers fought with desperate valour; but they fell a prey to the numbers, the artifice, and bravery of their enemy. The few, who were taken alive, were destined to tortures, unknown to their companions, who had the happier lot to die in the field of battle [1].

About the same time, the Indians burned nineteen houses and barns at Scituate; but they were bravely encountered and repulsed by the Inhabitants. On the eighth of May, they burned and destroyed seventeen houses and barns at Bridgewater [2]. On the eleventh, they assaulted the town of Plymouth, and burned eleven houses and five barns; and, two days after, they burned seven houses and two barns in that town, and the remaining houses in Namasket [3].

Several large bodies of Indians having assembled at Connecticut river, in the vicinity of Deerfield, the inhabitants

1 Some historians say, that captain Wadsworth's company was entirely cut off; others, that a few escaped. Some represent his company, as consisting of 50; some, as consisting of 70 men. All agree, that 50 at least were killed. Captain Broclebank and some others "fell into his company as he marched along;" and this accession may account for the difference in the narratives. President Wadsworth (of Harvard College,) a son of captain Wadsworth, who fell on this occasion, caused a decent monument to be afterward erected over the grave of these heroes, from which I copied the following Inscription:

"Captain Samuel Wadsworth of Milton, his Lieut. Sharp of Brooklin, Capt. Broclebank of Rowley, with about Twenty-Six * other Souldiers, fighting for the defence of their country, were slain by the Indian enemy April 18th. 1676, and lye buried in this place." The monument stands to the west of Sudbury Causeway, about one mile southward of the church in Old Sudbury, and about one quarter of a mile from the great road, that leads from Boston to Worcester.

2 The inhabitants courageously sallied forth from their garrisons, to fight the enemy; and a storm of thunder, lightening, and rain, at that juncture, providentially, contributed to save the town from entire conflagration. It is remarkable, that Bridgewater, though, by its local situation peculiarly exposed, never lost one of its inhabitants in this war. Magnal. book vii. 52. I *now* find, that the settlement of Bridgewater was begun in the year 1651, by a very religious people; "though, upon of the smallness of their number and ability, and the scarcity of mates, they had not an ordained minister till the year 1663." [illegible] was the reverend James Keith, who died 23 July, 1719, "having years a faithful minister of the gospel." Preface to a Sermon, at Bridgewater by Rev. Mr. Keith, in 1717, 2d edit. printed 1768.

3 [illegible] after the war broke out (about July 1675) the Indians killed English people at Taunton; burned about half the town of Swansey; principally burned the towns of Namasket [Middleborough] and [illegible]mouth. Mather, Indian War, 4.

* This, it is supposed, was the number of bodies found.

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of Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, on receiving the intelligence, combined for their extirpation. On the eighteenth of May one hundred and sixty soldiers, destined for that enterprize, marched silently twenty miles in the dead of night, and, a little before break of day, surprized the enemy, whom they found asleep, and without guards at their principal quarters. The first notice, that they gave of their approach, was by a discharge of their guns into the wigwams. Some of the Indians, in their consternation, ran directly into the river, and were drowned. Others betook themselves to their bark canoes; and having in their hurry forgotten their paddles, were hurried down the falls, and dashed against the rocks. Many of them, endeavouring to secrete themselves under the banks of the river, were discovered and slain. In this action, distinguished by the name of the Fall Fight, the enemy lost three hundred men, women, and children [1]. The Indians, recovering from their surprise, and falling on the rear of the English on their return, killed captain Turner, commander of the expedition, and thirty-eight of his men [2].

On the thirtieth of May, a great body of Indians, supposed to be six or seven hundred, appeared before Hatfield. Having burned twelve houses and barn, without the fortification, they attacked the houses in the centre of the town, that were surrounded with palisadoes; but twenty-five resolute young men of Hadley, adventuring over the river; and boldly charging the enemy, they instantly fled from the town, with the loss of twenty-five of their men.

Though Massachusetts was the chief theatre of the war; Connecticut, her sister colony, was active in the supression of the common enemy. Volunteer companies had been formed, early in the year, principally from New London, Norwich, and Stonington; which associated with them a number of Moheagans, Pequots, and Narragansets. T[illegible] companies ranged the Narraganset country, and [illegible] harassed the hostile Indians. In one of these exc[illegible]

1 See a particular account of this Fight by the reverend Mr. T[illegible] Deerfield, in the appendix to his edition of Williams' Redeeme[illegible] 141—143. Of the 300 there were 170 fighting men. Mat[illegible] War, 31. But one of the English was killed in the engagement. [illegible] bard, Indian Wars, 225, *note*.

2 The English, going out on horseback, had alighted about [illegible] of a mile from the Indian rendezvous, and tied their horses to the [illegible] The Indians fell on the guards, left with the horses, and killed some [illegible] them. These are included in the 38.

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in March, Captain Denison, of Stonington, rendered signal service to the cause, by the capture of Nanunttenoo, the head sachem of all the Narragansets [1]. Between the spring and the succeeding autumn, the volunteer captains, with their flying parties, made ten or twelve expeditions; in which they killed and captivated two hundred and thirty of the enemy; took fifty muskets; and brought in one hundred and sixty bushels of their corn. They drove all the Narraganset Indians, excepting those of Ninnigret [2], out of their country.

The assembly of Connecticut, at their session in May, voted three hundred and fifty men, who were to be a standing army, to defend the country, and harass the enemy. Major John Talcot was appointed to the chief command. Early in June, major Talcot marched from Norwich with about two hundred and fifty soldiers, and two hundred Moheagan and Pequot Indians, into the Wabaquasset country [3]; but found the country entirely deserted as well as the fort and wigwams at Wabaquasset. On the fifth of June, the army marched to Chanagongum, in the Nipmuck country, where they killed nineteen Indians, and took thirty-three captives; and thence marched by Quabaog to Northampton. On the twelfth of June, four days after their arrival at Northampton, about seven hundred Indians made a furious attack upon Hadley; but major Talcot with these gallant soldiers, soon appeared for the relief of the garrison, and drove off the enemy.

On the third of July, the same troops, on their march toward Narraganset, surprized the main body of the enemy by the side of a large cedar swamp, and attacked them so

[1] He had ventured down from the northern wilderness toward Seaconk, near the seat of Philip, to procure seed corn, to plant the towns, which the English had deserted on Connecticut river. This sachem was the son of Miantonimoh, and inherited the pride of his father. He would not ask his life, when offered on the condition, that he should make peace with the English. When he was informed, that it was determined to put him to death, he said, "I like it well; I shall die before my heart is soft, or I shall have spoken any thing unworthy of myself." The Mohawks, at Albany, his counsellors, and the principal Pequots, shot him at once. Trumbull, i. 362.

[2] This sachem had formerly given the colonies much trouble; but, in this war, he refused to join the other Narraganset sachems. The Narragansets, who joined the Connnecticut volunteers, were *his* men. It is remarkable, that, in all these expeditions, the English had not a man killed or wounded. Trumbull, i. 360, 362.

[3] See p. 352. It is, to this day, called at Woodstock, as it is *here* written after Dr. Trumbull, *Wab-a-quis-set*.

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suddenly, that a considerable number of them was killed and taken on the spot. Others escaped to the swamp, which was immediately surrounded by the English; who, after an action of two or three hours, killed and took one hundred and seventy-one. Soon after, they killed and captured sixty-seven, near Providence, and Warwick. About the fifth of July, the army returned to Connecticut; and in their return took sixty more of the enemy[1].

The enemy, thus pursued, and hunted from one lurking place to another; straitened for provisions; and debilitated by hunger and disease; became divided, scattered, and disheartened; and in July, and August, began to come in to the English, and to surrender themselves to the mercy of their conquerors. Philip, who had fled to the Mohawks, having provoked, instead of conciliating, that warlike nation, had been obliged to abandon their country[2]; and he was now, with a large body of Indians, lurking about Mount Hope. The Massachusetts and Plymouth soldiers were vigilant and intrepid, in pursuit of him; and, on the second of August, captain Church, with about thirty English soldiers and twenty confederate Indians, surprized him in his quarters; killed about one hundred and thirty of his men, and took his wife and son prisoners. Philip himself but just escaped with his life.

About ten days after, Church being then on Rhode Island with a handful of volunteers, an Indian deserter brought him information, that Philip was in Mount Hope neck; and offered to guide him to the place and help to kill him[3]. Church, who never allowed himself to lose a moment's time, instantly set out, in pursuit of him, with a small company of English and Indians. On his arrival at the swamp, he made a disposition of his men at proper distances and stations, so as to form an ambuscade, putting an English man and an Indian together behind such coverts, as were fo and his company soon commenced a fire on the

1 Trumbull, i. 363—365. From about the beginning of A 6th of July, the Connecticut volunteers, and the troops under m cot, killed and captured about 420 of the enemy. Ibid.

2 It was commonly reported, that, with the design of draw hawks into the war, Philip had killed some of that nation in and imputed their death to the English; but that one of the Indi was left for dead, revived, and informed his countrymen of Hutchinson.

3 He said, Philip killed his brother just before he came away, for giv some advice that displeased him; and that he had fled, for fear of t same fate. He wanted to kill Philip, in revenge of his brother's death

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shelter, which was discovered on the margin of the swamp. It was open, in the Indian manner, on the side next to the swamp, to favour a sudden flight. Philip, at the instant of the fire from the English, seizing his gun, fled toward the thickets, but ran in a direction toward an English soldier and an Indian, who were at the station, assigned them by captain Church.* When he was within fair shot, the Englishman snapped his gun, but it missed fire. He then bade the Indian fire; and he instantly shot him through the heart [1].

The death of Philip was the signal of complete victory. The Indians, in all the neigbouring country, now generally submitted to the English; or fled, and incorporated themselves with distant and strange nations. In this short but tremendous war, about six hundred of the inhabitants of New England, composing its principal strength, were either killed in battle, or murdered by the enemy; twelve or thirteen towns were entirely destroyed; and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were burnt. In addi-

1 The death of Philip, in retrospect, makes different impressions from what were made at the time of the event. It was then considered as the extinction of a virulent and implacable enemy; it is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior, a penetrating statesmen, and a mighty prince. It then excited universal joy and congratulation, as a prelude to the close of a merciless war; it now awakens sober reflections on the instability of empire, the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. The patriotism of the man was then overlooked in the cruelty of the savage; and little allowance was made for the natural jealousy of the sovereign, on account of the barbarities of the warrior. Philip, in the progress of the English settlements, foresaw the loss of his territory, and the extinction of his tribe; and made one mighty effort to prevent those calamities. Our pity for his misfortunes would be still heightened, if we could entirely rely on the tradition (mentioned by Callender, 73.), That Philip and his chief old men were at first averse to the war; that Philip died with grief, at the news of the first English who were killed; and that he was pressed into these measures by the irresistible importunity of his young warriors. The assurance, on the other hand, of the equity of the proprietors, in giving the natives an equivalent for their lands, is highly honourable. The upright and pious governor Winslow, in a letter dated Marshfield, 1 May, 1676, observes: "I think I can clearly say, that before the present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the proprietors. We first made a law, that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians, without the knowledge and allowance of our Court. And lest yet they should be streightened, we ordered them Mount Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of the best land in the colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should they ever be bought out of their hands." See Hubbard's Narrative (where this important letter is inserted entire) and Hazard, Coll. ii. 531—534.

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tion to these calamities, the colonies contracted an enormous debt; while, by the loss of their substance, through the ravages of the enemy, their resources were essentially diminished [1].

The New England colonies, in this impoverished and calamitous state, were destined to a new scene of trouble, which closed at length very inauspiciously to their liberties. Complaints having been brought against them, the preceding year, by the merchants and manufacturers of England, for their disregard to the acts of navigation [2]; the governors of these colonies were now commanded, by royal authority, to enforce a strict obedience to the laws of trade. Commissions were transmitted, empowering proper persons to

1 Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England. Increase Mather's Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England. Church's History of King Philip's War. Mather, Magnal. book vii. 45—55. Callender's Historical Discourse, 73—81. Neal's History of New England. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, i. 285—308. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, i. 342—369. Adams' History of New England, 118—127. Morse and Parish's Compendious History of New England, 249—264. A sketch of the Indian war in another part of New England is subjoined. Within twenty days after Philip kindled the war at the southward, the flame broke out in the most northeasterly part of the country, at the distance of 200 miles; and, in the years 1675 and 1676, most of the plantations in the Province of Maine, with those on the river Pascataqua, partook in the general calamity. After the death of Philip, the Massachusetts forces, which were then at liberty to turn their arms into that quarter, surprized about 400 of the Eastern Indians at Cocheco (Sept. 6, 1676,) and took them prisoners. One half of them being found accessory to the late rebellion, 7 or 8, who were known to have killed [illegible] Englishmen, were condemned and hanged; the rest were sold in foreign parts, for slaves. These were called strange Indians, who had fled from the southward, and taken refuge among to Penacooks. This stroke humbled the Indians in the east, although the war with them continued until the spring of 1678. See the above cited authorities, and Belknap, New Hamp. i. 133—163. A treaty of peace (though of little effect) was made in November, 1676, between the governor and council of Massachusetts and Mogg, a Penobscot Indian, in behalf of the sachems of Penobscot. This was the first treaty, made with any of the Tarrateens, or eastern Indians. Belknap, ib. Hutchinson, i. 347. Hubbard, Indian Wars, [illegible] where the Treaty is inserted.

2 The complaints stated, "that the inhabitants of New England only traded to most parts of Europe, but encouraged foreigners to traffic with them; that they supplied the other plantations with foreign productions, which ought only to be sent to England; that they thus made New England the great staple of the colonies, the navigation of the kingdom was greatly prejudiced, the national revenues impaired, the people were extremely impoverished; that such abuses at the same time that they will entirely destroy the trade of England, [illegible] no sort of dependence from that country to this." Chalmers, i. 400.

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adminster an oath, framed to secure a strict observa[nce] those laws. To add weight to these measures, it was [re]mined, "that no Mediterranean passes should be granted [to] New England, to protect its vessels against the Turks, til[l] it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his majesty, or whether his custom house officers are received as in other colonies[1]."

The malecontents in Virginia, taking advantage of a war with the Susquehannah Indians, excited the people to insurrection. Nathaniel Bacon, a bold, seditious, and eloquent young man, who had been concerned in a recent insurrection, now offering himself as the leader of the insurgents, was chosen their general; and soon after entered Jamestown with six hundred armed followers. Having besieged the grand assembly, then convened in the capital, he compelled it to grant whatever he demanded. On finding himself denounced, after his departure, as a rebel, by proclamation of governor Berkeley, he returned indignantly to Jamestown. The aged governor, unsupported, and almost abandoned, fled precipitately to Accomack, on the eastern shore of the colony; and, collecting those, who were well affected toward his government, began to oppose the injurgents. Several skirmishes were fought, with various success. A party of the insurgents burned Jamestown. Those districts of the colony, which adhered to the old administration, were laid waste. The estates of the loyalists were confiscated. Women, whose fathers or husbands obeyed what they deemed the legal government, were carried forcibly along with the soldiers. The governor, in retaliation, seized the estates of many of the insurgents, and executed several of their leaders by martial law. In the midst of these calamities Bacon, the author of them, sickened and died; and the flames of war expired. This rebellion cost the colony one hundred thousand pounds[2]. On information of this rebellion, Charles II. dispatched Sir John Berry with a small fleet, which transported the first troops, ever sent to Virginia[3].

[1] Chalmers, i. 400—402.
[2] Chalmers, i. 382—385. Beverly, 105.
[3] Chalmers, i. 386. These were the first troops sent to *any* of the colonies for the suppression of a revolt. It was determined, in November, 1676, to disband them, "unless the assembly will pay them;" and they were soon after paid off. Ibid. 382. Beverly [116.] says, these troops consisted of a regiment of infantry. The whole value of warlike stores, sent to Virginia by Sir J. Berry, amounted to 11,178*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.* sterling. Chalmers, i. 350. See Univ. Hist. xli. 538.

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e whole custom of tobacco from Virginia, collected in land this year, was one hundred and thirty-five thou-nd pounds sterling [1].

Maryland now contained about sixteen thousand inhabitants; of whom the Roman Catholics were to the number of Protestants in the proportion of one to a hundred. Cecilius Calvert, the father of the province, died, in the forty-fourth year of his government, "covered with age and reputation [2]." Charles Calvert, now succeeding his father, immediately called an assembly; which, among other acts, passed a law "against the importation of convicted persons into the province [3]."

The country of New Jersey was formed into East and West Jersey [4]. Carteret, who had returned to that province the preceding year, began now to clear out vessels from East Jersey; but he was steadily opposed by Andros, governor of New York [5].

A fire in Boston burned down about forty-five dwelling houses, the north church, and several ware houses [6].

John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, died, in the seventy-first year of his age [7].

1677.

1 Chalmers, i. 354. Maryland was probably included. Ib.

2 Chalmers, i. 363. That province had been previously divided into ten counties. No parishes were yet laid out, nor churches erected, nor public maintenance granted for the support of a ministry; and there were in the whole colony three clergymen only of the church of England. Ib.

3 Ibid. 364.

4 Ibid. 617. East Jersey was released in July by the assignees of lord Berkeley to Carteret; and he, in return, conveyed to them West Jersey. The government of the last was retained by the duke of York as a dependency of New York; the government of the first was resigned to Carteret: "And here commenced a confusion of jurisdiction, and an uncertainty of property, which long distracted the people, and at length ended in the annihilation of the rule of the proprietors." Ib. See the instrument of release of New Jersey in Smith, History New Jersey, 80—83; and "Concessions and Agreements of the proprietors, freeholders, and inhabitants of the province of West New Jersey," ib. 521—539.

5 Ibid. 618. Andros saw that Carteret's clearance "tended to ruin the commerce and to lessen the customs of New York." Ib.

6 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxxiv; Indian Wars, 194. Hutchinson, i. 349. The church was rebuilt the next year. Coll. Hist. Soc.

7 Mather, Magnal. book ii. 30—33. He was the eldest son of governor of Massachusetts. He was educated at the university of and afterward travelled into France, Holland, Germany, Italy, and key. With these advantages, he became a very accomplished gentleman as well as a great scholar. He was a puritan of distinguished piety. Connecticut he rendered most important services, and he was very highly respected and esteemed by that colony. He was one of the greatest chymists and physicians of his age; a member of the Royal Society; and one of

1677.

The controversy between the colony of Massachusetts and the heirs of John Mason and of Ferdinando Gorges was now settled in England [1]. It was determined, that the boundaries of Massachusetts could not be construed to extend farther northward, along the river Merrimack, than three English miles beyond it. Maine, both as to soil and government, was adjudged to the heirs of Gorges. Before the complaints were fully adjusted, and while king Charles was in treaty with Gorges [2] to acquire his interest, an agent, employed by Massachusetts for the same end, purchased of that proprietor the whole territory; and assigned it over to the governor and company [3].

The second ship arrived from London at West Jersey, [Aug. 16,] bringing two hundred and thirty passengers, most of whom were quakers, some of good estates in England. They landed about Rackoon Creek, on Delaware, where the Swedes had some few habitations; but not sufficient for their reception. Commissioners, who came over in this ship, proceeded farther up the river, to a place called Chygoe's Island, where they treated with the Indians, and began the regulation of their settlements. At that place the town of

of the most distinguished characters in New England. Having gone to Boston, to attend the court of the commissioners of the United Colonies, he was taken sick, and died there on the 5th of April, and was interred in the same tomb with his father. *Ib.* Trumbull, i. 362.

[1] Edward Randolph, a kinsman of Mason, had been sent to New England the preceding year, with a letter to Massachusetts, requiring that colony to send over agents within six months, fully empowered to answer the complaints which Mason and the heirs of Gorges had made, of its usurping jurisdiction over the territories claimed by them; and the colony appointed William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley. On their arrival, an hearing was ordered before the lords chief justices of the king's bench and common pleas, and their judgemnt was confirmed by the king in council. See the authorities in note 3.

[2] Ferdinando Gorges, grandson of Sir Ferdinando. Belknap.

[3] Hazard, i. 397. Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxx. Hutchinson, i. 202. Belknap, N. Hamp. i. 164—169; Americ. Biog. i. 391, 392. Mr. Danforth was the agent, employed by Massachusetts to make the purchase. The sum he gave to Mr. Gorges, for his interest in the Province of Maine, was 1250*l.* sterling. This territory has ever since been a part of Massachusetts. It is now formed into two counties, York and Cumberland; and the district of Maine, as established by the laws of the United States, contains several other counties, and extends from Pascataqua to St. Croix; a territory sufficiently large, when duly populated, to form a distinct state. *Ibid.*

Burlington was now laid out by mutual agreement of the proprietors; and it was soon settled by a considerable number of reputable families from Yorkshire, and other parts of England [1].

Sir William Berkeley was recalled from the government of Virginia, after an administration of forty years; and was succeeded by colonel Jeffereys [2].

Miller a person of some consideration, arrived in Carolina in July, as chief magistrate and collector of the royal customs [3]. He found the colony at Albemarle to consist of a few inconsiderable plantations, dispersed over the north-eastern bank of Albemarle river, and divided into four districts. In attempting to reform some abuses he rendered himself obnoxious; and an insurrection broke out at Albemarle in December. The insurgents, conducted chiefly by Culpeper, imprisoned the president and seven proprietary deputies; seized the royal revenue; established courts of justice; appointed officers; called a parliament; and, for two years, exercised all the authority of an independent state [4].

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1 Smith, New Jersey, 93, 102. Proud, i. 142—149. Another ship arrived from London in November, with about 60 or 70 passengers, some of whom settled at Salem and others at Burlington. Another also arrived in the autumn, with 114 passengers. Ibid.

2 Chalmers, i. 336, 337. The assembly some time after declared, "that he had been an excellent and well deserving governor," and recommended to the king the payment to lady Berkeley of 300 *l.* "as not only a right, but as due from that colony to his services and merits." Ib.

3 Miller collected, from July to December (1677,) 327,068 *lbs.* weight of tobaoco, and 1242*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* sterling, being the parliamentary duty of one penny a pound on tobacco exported to other colonies. The annual parliamentary revenue, arising in that little colony, amounted to 3000 *l.* sterling. Chalmers, i. 558.

4 Chalmers, i. 532—535. Culpeper had, in 1671, been appoint[illegible] veyor general of Carolina, and had raised commotions on Ashley [illegible] The royal revenue, now seized, amounting to 3000 *l.* was appropri[illegible] supporting the revolt. The colonists at Albemarle were far [illegible] numerous; for the *tithables*, consisting of all the *working hand* [illegible] to 60 years of age, one-third of which was composed of *Indian* [illegible] and *Women*, amounted to 1400 only; and, exclusive of the ca[illegible] dian corn, 800,000 pounds of tobacco were the annual produc[illegible] labour. "These formed the basis of an inconsiderable comm[illegible] was almost entirely carried on by the people of New Englan[illegible] plied their little wants, who sent their commodities all over Eu[illegible] in a great measure, governed the colony, and directed the pu[illegible] planter to their own advantage." Some men of New England a[illegible] with co-operating with the conductors of the insurrection, that t[illegible] "might get the trade of this country into their own hands." Ib. See [illegible] pers,

Commissioners were sent, about this time, from Massachusetts and Connecticut, to the Mohawks, to secure their friendship [1]. Mutual promises were made at Albany between the Five Nations and colonel Coursey, an agent in behalf of Virginia and Maryland [2]. The whole force of the Five Nations was then estimated at two thousand one hundred and fifty fighting men [3].

The general court of Massachusetts passed a new law for apprehending and punishing, by fine and correction, every person, found at a quaker's meeting [4].

The contributions for rebuilding Harvard College had been so liberal, that a fair and stately brick edifice was erected this year; and so far finished, that the public exercises of the commencement were performed there [5].

East Greenwich, in Rhode Island, was incorporated [6].

1678.

The assembly of Virginia caused magazines to be built at the heads of the four great rivers in that colony; and filled them with arms, ammunition, and guards, to awe the Indians, and prevent their depredations [7].

The province of New York contained, at this time, about twenty-four towns, villages, or parishes, in six precincts, ridings, or courts of sessions. All the militia of the pro-

per, ii. 560—562, illustrative of the origin and progress of an insurrection, little noticed by historians, and which, until Chalmers published his Annals, had "remained in perfect obscurity."

1 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxxiii. Hutchinson, i. 348. This treaty Hutchinson supposed to be the first between the Mohawks and Massachusetts.

2 Colden, 87.

3 Chalmers, i. 609.

	Fighting men.
The Maquas [Mohawks] were estimated at	300
Oneidas	200
Onondagos	350
Cayugas	300
Senekas	1000
	2150

4 Hutchinson, i. 320. "This law lost the colony many friends."
Hubbard, MS. New England, chap. lxx. See A. D. 1672.
5 Holder, 39. Petequamscut and the adjacent parts were incorporated, 1674, by the name of KINGSTON. Ibid.
6 Ibid. 162. During the administration of lord Culpeper, who succeeded governor Jeffereys, those magazines were removed; and a small party of light horse, called Rangers, was appointed to scour the woods. Ibid. 166.

vince were about two thousand. Its annual exports, beside pease, beef, pork, tobacco, and peltry, were about sixty thousand bushels of wheat. Its annual imports were to the value of about fifty thousand pounds 1. There were now in the city of New York three hundred and forty-three houses 2.

Major Andros, governor of New York, having the preceding year sent a sloop with some forces to the Province of Maine, and built a fort at Pemaquid; the eastern Indians, who, until that time, had been hostile from the commencement of Philip's war, discovered pacific dispositions. All the succeeding autumn and winter, they remained quiet, and lived in harmony with the new garrison. In these auspicious circumstances, a treaty was made at Casco, between the chiefs of those Indians and authorized commissioners, [April 12;] and an end put to a distressing war 3.

Mas-

1 Chalmers, i. 602. "There is one standing company of soldiers," says Andros, "with gunners and other officers, for the forts of Albany and New York. Fortresses are, James Fort, situated upon a point of New York town, between Hudson's river and the Sound: it is a square, with stone walls, four bastions almost regular, and in it 46 guns, mounted. Albany is a small long stockadoed fort with 4 bastions in it, with 12 guns, which is sufficient against Indians. There are no privateers about our coasts. Our merchants are not many; but, with inhabitants and planters, about 2000 able to bear arms, old inhabitants of the place or of England; except in and near New York, of Dutch extraction, and some of all nations: but few servants, who are much wanted, and but very few slaves. A merchant, worth 1000 *l.* or 500 *l.* is accounted a good substantial merchant; and a planter, worth half that in moveables, is accounted such. All the estates may be valued at 150,000 *l.* There may have lately traded to the colony, in a year, from 10 to 15 ships or vessels, upon an average, of 100 tons each, English, New England, and of our own, built. There are religions of all sorts; one church of England; several Presbyterians, and Independents, Quakers and Anabaptists, of several sects; some Jews: but the Presbyterians and Independents are the most numerous and substantial. There are about 20 churches or meeting places, of which half are vacant. Few ministers till very lately." Answers of Sir E. Andros, dated in April 1678, to the Inquiries of the committee of plantations. See the Answers entire in Chalmers, i. 600—604.

2 Ibid. 597. It was found, that, instead of the common proportion of inhabitants, there were 10 for each house; but, thus computed, there were then in the city no more than 3430 souls. Ib. 598.

3 Belknap, New Hampshire, i. 158. Andros sent his forces in 1677, "to take posssession of the land, which had been granted to the duke of York." In the preceding July, after the province had suffered various sufferings from the Indians, an affecting occurrence happened the terror and perplexity of the inhabitants. The government ordered 200 Indians of Natick, with 40 English soldiers, under captain Benjamin Swett of Hampton, to the assistance of the eastern settlements; they

Massachusetts received but small accessions of planters from Europe for several preceding years. The colony, at this time, imported no negroes [1].

M. de la Sale rebuilt fort Frontenac with stone. He also, this year, launched a bark of ten tons into Lake Ontario; and the year following, another of sixty tons into Lake Erie; about which time he inclosed with palisadoes a little spot at Niagara [2].

The town of Salem contained eighty-five houses, and three hundred polls [3].

Canonicut Island, in Rhode Island colony, was incorporated by the name of James Town [4].

William Coddington, governor of Rhode Island, died, in the seventy-eighth year of his age [5]. Thomas Thacher, minister

they anchored off Black Point; and, being joined by some of the inhabitants, marched to seek the enemy, who showed themselves on a plain in three parties. By a feigned retreat, the Indians drew them two miles from the fort, and then, turning suddenly and violently upon them, threw them into confusion. Swett, with a few of the more resolute, fought bravely on the retreat, until he came near the fort, when he was killed; 60 more were left dead or wounded; the rest got into the fort. The victorious savages then surprized and captured about 20 fishing vessels, which put into the eastern harbours by night. Ibid. 157. Mr. Bentley mentions [Coll. Hist. Soc. vi. 263.], that, "in 1677, 13 Salem ketches were taken by the Indians, and some of them returned, with 19 wounded men." These ketches were probably a part of the 20 vessels, mentioned by Dr. Belknap.

[1] Chalmers, i. 436, 437; where are extracts from Answers of the agents Stoughton and Bulkley to the Inquiries of the committee of colonies, delivered in April that year; some of which are subjoined. "Cases of admiralty are decided by the court of assistants. Foreign merchants we know of none. The number of English merchants is very small; and of the other inhabitants, who are chiefly planters, we know of no calculation that hath been made. New planters have rarely come over for many years past; much less Irish or Scotch, or any foreigners: Nor are any blacks imported. A considerable number of small vessels are built in the country [illegible] a hundred tons burden; but those that are larger belong to owners [illegible]land, or to other colonies."

[illegible]arlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 457, 458. Smith, New York, 44. See [illegible]3. The fort, built *that year*, appears to have been merely a [illegible] "n'étoit que de pieux."

[illegible] Hist. Soc. vi. 223.

[illegible]nder, 39.

[illegible]me to New England with governor Winthrop, as an assistant, [illegible]d was a principal merchant in Boston, where he built the first [illegible]. In 1637, when the contentions ran high in Massachusetts, [illegible]ieved at the proceedings of the court against Mr. Wheelwright [illegible]; but, not availing in his opposition to those measures, he relin[illegible] [illegible]advantageous situation at Boston, and "his large propriety and [illegible]provements at Braintree;" accompanied the emigrants, who, on that occa-

minister in Boston, died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age [1].

1679.

While the agents of Massachusetts were in England, days of fasting and prayer were repeatedly appointed by authority, to implore the divine blessing on their endeavours for obtaining favour with the king, and the continuance of charter privileges [2]. By desire of the general court, a synod was holden at Boston, this year, to give counsel, adapted to the state of the colony, which was believed to be suffering judicial calamities from heaven [3]. Suitable measures, in the mean time,

occasion, left the colony; and was "the great instrument" in effecting the original settlement of Rhode Island. In 1647, he assisted in forming a body of laws for that colony, and was the next year chosen governor; but he declined the office. In 1651, he received a commission from England, to be governor; but, finding the people jealous, lest, "the commission might affect their lands and liberties," he resigned it. He was afterward repeatedly prevailed on to accept the chief magistracy; and was in that office at the time of his death. He appears to have been prudent in his administration, and active in promoting the welfare of "the little commonwealth, which he had in a manner founded." See Dedication of Callender's Hist. Discourse. See also A. D. 1638.

1 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 148—153. Mr. Thacher was the first minister of the Old South church in Boston. [See A. D. 1666, in which year that church was gathered.] He was ordained pastor of the church in Weymouth, 2 January, 1644; and was *installed* at Boston, 16 February, 1670. He was well versed in oriental learning, particularly in the Hebrew language, a compendious Lexicon of which he composed. His prayers were distinguished for copiousness and fervency. He was a "popular preacher," an exemplary man, and a faithful minister. Ibid. Coll. Hist. Soc. viii. 278.

2 Hutchinson, i. 324. It was the usage of our pious ancestors in New England to observe special days of *fasting* and of *thanksgiving* besides annual observance of those two solemnities.

3 Hutchinson, i. 324. The general court appointed this synod at session in May, 1679, and referred to its consideration two questions: "What are the reasons, that have provoked the Lord to bring his [judgments] upon New England. 2. What is to be done, that so those evils may be removed?" The synod convened at Boston, 10 September, 1679. John Sherman, and Mr. Urian Oakes were its moderators. After days of prayer and fasting, the synod spent several days in discoursing on the two great questions. The Result, pointing out the sins of the times, and recommending a reformation, was presented to the General Court, which by an act of 15 October, 1679, "commended it unto the serious consideration of all the churches and people in the jurisdiction." See Magnal. book v. 85—96. Dr. C. Mather says, "the admonitions of the Synod were not without very desirable effects." Governor Hutchinson [i. 324.] does "not censure the authority of the colony for their great anxiety

time, were taken, to avert the royal displeasure. The general court sent respectful addresses to the king; enacted laws, to remove the causes of some of the complaints against the colony; and passed an ordinance, to punish high treason with death, and to require all persons to take the oath of allegiance. The king's arms, at the same time, were put up in the court house. The colony however neglected to conform to the acts of trade, and to send new agents as required, to England. For the *first* neglect, the court alledged to her agents, "that the acts of navigation were an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his majesty in that colony, they being not represented in the parliament;" for the *second*, it apologized, by saying, "that the country was poor; that proper persons were afraid of the seas, as the Turkish pirates had lately taken their vessels; and that his majesty was still employed in the most important affairs [1]."

Although a commission for the appointment of a custom-house officer for New England had been granted the last year, it was then judged expedient to suspend the departure of such an officer for the present." Edward Randolph, who had at that time been recommended to the lord treasurer, as the most suitable person for collector of Boston, now came over in that capacity; but "he was considered as an enemy, and opposed with the steady zeal of men, who deemed their chartered privileges invaded [2]."

A terrible fire broke out near the dock in Boston about midnight on the eighth of August, and continued until near noon the next day. Above eighty dwelling houses, seventy ware-houses, with several vessels and their lading, were consumed. The entire loss was computed to be two hundred thousand pounds [3].

Charles

iety on this occasion, or for using every proper measure to obtain the f heaven, as well as the favour of their earthly sovereign;" though, ks, "we have no evidence of any extraordinary degeneracy." An istorian of more recent date, and of high respectability, but of our, sees, or thinks he sees, in these *questions*, "pious arts," " meful influence of fanaticism." We know very well what was cter of Charles, and what were the manners of his court, at that ; but is it inconceivable, that the principal men in a colonial nt, at the distance of 3000 miles from that court, could be reli- ll be recorded, to the everlasting honour of New England, that rs, when of *her own* election, have generally been *able men, fear-*

1 Chalmers, i. 407, 410.
2 Ibid. 320, 406, 409.
3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. lxxiv. who says, it was justly suspected

Charles II. ordered two small vessels to be provided at his own expence, to transport to Carolina several foreign protestants, who proposed to raise wine, oil, silk, and other productions of the south [1].

1680.

New Hampshire became separated from Massachusetts. A commission for the separate government of that colony had passed the great seal the preceding year; and it was now brought to Portsmouth by Edward Randolph. By the form of government, described in this commission, the people had a representation in a body chosen by themselves; and the king was represented by a president and council of his own appointment, he retaining the prerogative of disannulling the acts of the whole, at his pleasure. The first assembly met at Portsmouth on the sixteenth of March [2].

Plymouth colony petitioned for a new charter, with the same privileges, that had been granted to other colonies,

to have been kindled by design. Hutchinson, i. 349. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 269. The houses and warehouses near the town dock, which were rebuilt after this great fire, were either constructed with brick, or plastered on the outside with a strong cement, intermixed with gravel and glass, and slated on the top. Several of these plastered houses are yet remaining in Ann Street, in their original form. Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 189, 196.

1 Chalmers, i. 541. Many foreigners of various nations emigrated to Carolina, from this time to the Revolution of William and Mary. Ibid. Hewet [i. 73, 74.] says, that, after the conquest of New Netherlands in 1664, the colony, then in its earliest infancy, received a great addition to its strength from the Dutch, who formed a town on the southwest side of Ashley river, which they afterward abandoned.

2 Belknap, New Hampshire, i. 170—177. The number of qualified voters in all the towns was 209; viz.

In Portsmouth	71	Hampton	57
Dover	61	Exeter	20

Portsmouth sent to the assembly 3 members; Dover, 3; Hampton, 3; Exeter, 2. John Cutts was the first president. He was "a principal chant, of great probity and esteem at Portsmouth; but then aged firm." Ib. See also Hutchinson, i. 319. The public expence of vince of New Hampshire during that year, exclusively of the salaries and the town rates, including the charges of the assem council, the stipends of the marshal and jailers, and the bount killing of wolves, amounted to 131 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* The province rate real and personal, of one penny in the pound of the value, was only four towns, as follows:

Portsmouth	*l* 29. 17. 3.	Hampton	*l.* 23. 17.
Dover	20.	Exeter	11.

Chalmers, i. 511.

but without success; for king Charles was then meditating extensive plans of reformation for New England[1].

Connecticut contained, at this time, twenty-six small towns, in which there were twenty-one churches; and in every one, excepting two newly planted, there was a settled minister. The value of its annual exports was judged to be nine thousand pounds. It owned twenty-four small vessels. There were in the colony twenty merchants, some of whom traded to Boston; and some, to the West Indies and to other colonies. There were few servants, and not more than thirty slaves. The militia amounted to two thousand five hundred and seven[2].

1 Chalmers, i. 98. The agent died; and the papers were lost. The Address of the general court to Charles II. is inserted ib. 108.

2 Chalmers, i. 307—310, where are Answers of the assembly to the Inquiries of the lords of the committee of colonies, which disclose a variety of curious particulars of the State of Connecticut at the end of 44 years. The date is 15 July, 1680. Some other articles are subjoined. "We have, for the present, only one troop, which consists of about 60 horse; but we are upon raising three more. Our forces are train bands: in each county there is a major, who commands its militia, under the general.

In Hartford county there are	835	New Haven	628
New London	509	Fairfield	540

The whole militia, 2507. The number of our planters is included in our trainbands; which consist of all from 16 to 60 years of age. We have one small fort at the mouth of Connecticut river. As for our Indian neighbours, we compute them to be about 500 fighting men. We are strangers to the French, and know nothing of their strength or commerce. There are but few servants, and fewer slaves; not above 30 in the colony. There come sometimes three or four blacks from Barbadoes, which are sold for 22 *l.* each. The increase [of inhabitants] is as follows: The numbers of men, in the year 1671, were 2050; in 1676, were 2303; in 1677, were 2362; in 1678, were 2490; in 1679, were 2507. Our buildings are generally of wood; some are of stone and brick; and some of them are of good strength and comely, for a wilderness. The commodities of the country are provisions, lumber, and horses. The property of the whole corporation doth not amount to 110,788 *l.* sterling. There are no duties on goods, exported or imported, except on wines and liquors; which, though inconsiderable, are appropriated to maintain free-schools. The people are strict congregationalists; a few more large congregationalists; some moderate presbyterians. There are about 4 or 5 seven day men, and as many quakers. Great care is taken of the instruction of the youth in the Christian religion, by ministers catechizing and preaching every sabbath, and sometimes on lecture-days; and also by masters of families instructing their children and servants, which the law commands them to do. Every town maintains its own poor: but there is seldom want, because labour is dear; being from 2 *s.* to 2 *s.* 6 *d.* a day for a labourer; because provisions are cheap; wheat is 4 *s.* a bushel Winter-pease 3 *s.* Indian corn 2 *s.* 6 *d.* pork 3 *d.* a pound, beef 2 *d.* 1-2 a pound, butter 6 *d.* and so other matters in proportion. Beggars and vagabonds are not suffered; but, when discovered, they are bound out to service; vagabonds, who pass up and down, are punished by law."

The

The militia of Rhode Island colony consisted principally of ten companies of foot. There were "nine towns or divisions" in the colony. The principal place of trade was Newport, where the buildings were generally of wood, and small. The principal exports were horses and provisions. The imports were chiefly the productions of Barbadoes 1.

The assembly of Virginia, "with a view to the speedy peopling of the colony, and to give all possible encouragement to persons of different nations to transport themselves, their families, and stock, to settle there," empowered the governor, by an instrument under the great seal, to declare any alien, on taking the oath of allegiance, to be completely naturalized 2. An act of "free and general pardon and oblivion," in reference to the late rebellion, with the exception of the principal authors and promoters of it, was also passed by that assembly 3. The half armed trainbands in Virginia amounted

1 Chalmers, i. 282—284, where are Answers of the governor and council of Rhode Island to the same inquiries, as those mentioned in the last note. A few more articles are here subjoined. "The French, seated at Canada, and upon the bay of Fundy, are a considerable number; as we judge, about 2000: But as for the Indians that were inhabitants of this colony, they are generally cut off by the late war. We have several men, who deal in buying and selling, though they cannot be properly called merchants; and, for planters, we conceive there are above 500, and about 300 men besides. We have no shipping belonging to the colony, but only a few sloops. As for goods, exported or imported, there are very few; and there is no custom imposed. We have lately had few or no new-comers, either of English, Scotch, Irish, or foreigners; only a few blacks imported. There may be, of whites and blacks, about 200 born in a year. We have 50 marriages a year. The burials for the last 7 years, according to computation, amount to 455. Those people who go under the name of Baptists and Quakers are the most that congregate together; but there are others of divers persuasions and principles, all which, together with them, enjoy their liberty according to his majesty's gracious charter. We leave every man to walk as God shall persuade their hearts, and do actively or passively yield obedience to the civil magistrate. As for beggars and vagabonds, we have none among us."

2 Chalmers, i. 316. This condition however was annexed; "that nothing shall be construed to give power to foreigners to execute any [illegible] which, by acts made in England concerning his majesty's plantations, are disabled to do." Ibid. This was an act of the first assembly after the arrival of lord Culpeper as governor of Virginia.

3 Ibid. 341. The same act, reciting, that, during the licentious late times, ill disposed persons had taken upon them to asperse the government, without which the inhabitants could not have been so easily led away, imposed severe penalties on those, who should maliciously expose the people to a dislike of the governor, or who should, by words or writing, defame the administration of the colony. Similar laws against "the propagation of false news" occur among the more early acts of assembly of all the colonies. *Thou shalt not raise a false report*, was a precept of Moses,

acting

amounted to eight thousand five hundred and sixty-eight [1].

"The Oyster Point," delightfully formed by the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper, being found a more eligible place for settlement, than that on the banks of the Ashley, chosen by the first settlers of Carolina, the proprietaries encouraged the inclination of the inhabitants to remove to it. The preceding year a removal had commenced; but it was in this year that the foundation of the new town was laid; and during the year thirty houses were built. It received the name of the old settlement, Charlestown; and was immediately declared the port for the various purposes of traffic, and the capital for the general administration of government [2].

Though the proprietaries had given early instructions to cultivate the good will of the natives, and more recent orders to prohibit all trade with them for seven years; yet a war commenced in the beginning of this year with the Westoes, a powerful tribe on the southern boundary of Carolina, and endangered the ruin of "that hopeful settlement." A peace however was concluded the next year; and, to prevent the return of similar mischiefs, commissioners were appointed by the proprietaries, to decide all complaints between the contending parties [3].

The proprietors of West Jersey having importuned the duke of York to be restored to the rights, which they derived from his grant of 1664; their pretensions were at length referred to Sir William Jones, in compliance with whose judgment the duke confirmed West Jersey to the proprietors. Thus that province, after being ruled for some time as a conquered country, was reinstated in its former privileges [4]. The customs at Hoarkills, which had been complained of as a hardship from the beginning, were taken off this year [5]. About this time, a watermill was

ing under a divine commission. A law of Alfred, the admirable der of the jurisprudence of England, declared, "whosoever spreads a port among the vulgar shall have his tongue cut out." Ibid. 353.

d. 357. "From actual returns, 7268 foot; 1300 horse."

almers, i. 541. See A. D. 1671, p. 348.

halmers, i. 542. "The cause of hostilities may be found in injuhich had been for some years mutually given and received." Ib.

d. 618, 619. The various taxes, imposed by the governor and l of New York on that province in 1678, were at the same time exed to Jersey. Carteret endeavoured in vain to establish there a free for the governor of New York seized and condemned the vessels ing thither; "and, however unjust, this measure was decisive, because it was supported by superior power." Ibid.

Smith, N. Jersey, 117—124. See the arguments against this impost, ib.

built

built near Rankokas creek, and another at Trenton [1].

A number of families removed from Windsor in Connecticut to the east side of the river, and began the settlement of East Windsor [2].

M. de la Sale, having undertaken a farther discovery of the Mississippi, had, the preceding year, built a fort on the river Illinois, and called it Crevecœur [3]. He now sent out M. Dacan with father Hennepin, to trace the Mississippi, if possible, from its confluence with the Illinois, up to its source. These two voyagers left fort Crevecœur on the twenty-eighth of February, and ascended the Mississippi to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude; where they were stopped by a fall in the river, to which father Hennepin gave the name of the Fall of St. Anthony [4].

A great comet surprized and terrified the people of New England [5].

Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth, died, in the

1 Smith, N. Jersey, 114. The inhabitants of W. Jersey had hitherto either pounded their corn, or ground it with handmills.

2 Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 169. Fifteen years they passed the river in boats, to attend public worship on the west side. Ib.

3 "Heart breaker," on account of troubles he met with there.

4 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 460; ib. Fastes, Chron. 35. Harris, Voy. ii. 900. Du Pratz, Louisiane, i. 5.

5 Mather on Comets, 123. Hutchinson, i. 348. It was seen in N. England from 18 November to 10 February. It was also seen in Europe; and Henault, [ii. 192.] says, that it was the largest comet, which had ever been seen; and that this phenomenon struck a great terror into the minds of the people in France; "but," he justly remarks, "we are too much astonished at uncommon events, and not enough at those, which happen every day." It was by observation on *this comet*, that the great Sir Isaac Newton ascertained the parabolic form of the trajectory of comets; and demonstrated their regular revolutions round the sun. This admirable discovery, while it made a new epoch in astronomy, contributed to the removal of those terrors, which the appearance of a comet had always excited. This phenomenon, in all ages, and among all nations, had been previously viewed as a presage of some direful event. It has since been considered as a constituent part of an august system, which, whether examined by vulgar or by philosophic eyes, ought to lead man to "wonder and adore." The learned professor Winthrop [On Comets, Lect. II. p. 44.] says, "No comet has ever appeared the earth with a nearer approach than that of 1680; which would come down to the sun a month later, would have passed as near to the as the moon is." They, who are curious to know what opinions the men of ancient times entertained concerning comets, are referred to Aristotle, Μετεωρολ. cap. v, vi, vii; Seneca, Natur. Quæst. lib. vii; and of Anacharsis, ii. 195, 196. I cannot forbear to subjoin the follow mark of Seneca [ut supra, p. 759.] on this subject; because it has exactly verified, since the discovery of Newton: "Veniet tempus, quæ nunc latent, in lucem dies extrahat, et longioris ævi diligentia inquisitionem tantorum ætas una non sufficit, ut tota cœlo vacet. Veniet tempus, quo posteri nostri tam aperta non necisse mirentur."

fifty-

fifty-second year of his age 1. Urian Oakes, president of Harvard College, died, in the fiftieth year of his age 2. Roger Conant, who had the early care of the settlement of Cape Ann, died 3. About this time also died John Wheelwright, the founder of the town of Exeter 4.

1681.

Virginia contained, at this time, about fourteen thousand "tithables, or working hands." The house of burgesses consisted of forty-one persons 5.

The

1 Morton [Supplement], 207. "He was a worthy and well accomplished gentleman, deservedly beloved by the people, being a true friend to their liberties, generous, affable, and sincere; qualities incident to the family." Ibid. He was the son of governor Edward Winslow; and the first governor, *born* in New England. His discretion as a civil magistrate, and his bravery as a military commander, procured him much respect in both offices. Mather, Magnal. book ii. 7.

2 Mather, Magnal. book iv. 186—188. Coll. Hist. Soc. vii. 51—54. He was educated at Harvard College. Soon after he graduated, he went to England, where he was settled in the ministry at Tichfield. Such was his celebrity for ministerial qualifications, learning and piety, that, on the decease of Mr. Mitchel, the church and society at Cambridge sent a messenger to England to invite him to their pastoral charge; and he commenced his ministry at Cambridge 8 November, 1671. On the death of president Hoar, he was invited to the presidency of Harvard College, and entered on that office in 1675. He was a man of extensive erudition, and of distinguished usefulness. Dr. I. Mather says, "he was one of the greatest lights, that ever shone in this part of the world."

3 Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. chap. xviii. See A. D. 1625, p. 194.

4 Ibid. chap. xliii. The sentence of banishment of Mr. Wheelwright having been taken off by the general court, he was settled as minister at Hampton, but afterward went to England. On the change of times there, he returned to New England, and was settled in the ministry at Salisbury, where he continued until his death. See A. D. 1638, p. 251.

5 Chalmers, i. 355, 356, from the *state* of Virginia, as delivered to the committee of colonies in December, 1681, by lord Culpeper. Other particulars here subjoined. There were 20 counties, each of which sent burgesses to the house of burgesses; Jamestown sent one. The charges of government were maintained, 1. By private levies, raised in each parish, for minister, church, courts of justice, burgesses' wages, &c. 2. By county rates, raised by act of assembly. 3. By the 2*s.* a hogshead, with which, paid for fort duties, which amount to 3000*l.* a year. "The" clergy "livings are 76 or 77; but the poorness of the country and the price of tobacco had made them of so much less value, scarcely worth having." As to the military power: There is not one fort in the whole country that is defensible against an European enemy. There may be 2000 fighting men in the country; and yet they used to count 800 an army royal. In relation to the Indians: We are at peace with all, at least in war with none. But that which bids fair to be the speedy and certain undoing

The legislature of Maryland, in this and the subsequent year, made an attempt to introduce manufactures into that colony; but without much success [1]. Fendal, who had formerly raised an insurrection in Maryland, and had been pardoned, was now tried for seditious practices, and found guilty. He was fined forty thousand pounds of tobacco; imprisoned until payment; and banished the province [2].

Edward Randolph came over, the second time, to Massachusetts, as collector for Boston, and made a vigorous, but unsuccessful, attempt to execute his office [3].

Mason arrived at New Hampshire, and was admitted to a seat in the council. Asserting, soon after, his right to the province, assuming the title of lord proprietor, and proceeding to an act according to these pretensions, his conduct was deemed "an usurpation of his majesty's authority here established," and a warrant was issued for apprehending him; but he fled to England [4].

During the year ending with April 1681, there were entered at Portsmouth forty-nine vessels, from ten to one hundred and fifty tons burden [5]. The amount of the provincial customs, levied at that port during the same year, arising from taxes on wines and liquors, and one penny a pound of the value on the first cost of goods imported, was sixty-one pounds, three shillings and one penny [6].

undoing of this colony, is the low or rather no price of the only product of our lands, and our only commodity, tobacco: for the market is overstocked, and every crop overstocks it more. Our thriving is our undoing; and our buying of blacks hath extremely contributed thereto, by making more tobacco: we are too many for that, and too few for any thing else." Ibid.

1 Chalmers, i. 366, 367. It made laws for promoting tillage, and raising provisions for exportation; for restraining the export of leather and hides; for the support of tanners and shoemakers; and for encouraging the making of linen and woolen cloth.

2 Chalmers, i. 237. See A. D. 1656, and 1659.

3 Chalmers, i. 410. Hutchinson, ii. 75. By a letter to the gove[illegible] Randolph demanded the final resolution of the general court, wh[illegible] would admit his commission to be in force, or not; that he mi[illegible] how to govern himself. The court remained silent; "thus," [illegible] mers, "showing equally its contempt for the man, and the emb[illegible] of its situation." Chalmers, ib. 411.

4 Belknap, N. Hamp. i. 182, 183.

5 Chalmers, i. 510. "Many of the said ships were driven i[illegible] of weather, and made no stay." Ib. Dr. Belknap, from the C[illegible] cords, says, from 15 June 1680 to 12 April 1681, were entered [illegible] 18 ketches, 2 barks, 3 pinks, 1 shallop, and 1 flyboat; in all [illegible] Hamp. i. 187.

6 Chalmers, i. 511. This was money of the province, which was [illegible] less value than sterling 33 1-3 per cent. No parliamentary duties were then collected.

William

William Penn, the son of Sir William Penn [1], having petitioned Charles II. for a tract of territory between the bay and river of Delaware and lord Baltimore's province of Maryland; a charter, making conveyance of that territory, was signed and sealed by the king, on the fourth of March. It constituted William Penn and his heirs true and absolute proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania, saving to the crown their allegiance and the sovereignty. It gave him, his heirs, and their deputies, power to make laws, by advice of the freemen, and to erect courts of justice for the execution of those laws, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of England [2]. The charter being thus obtained, Penn, by a public advertisement, invited purchasers. Many single persons, and some families, chiefly of the denomination of quakers, were induced to think of a removal; and a number of merchants and others forming themselves into a company, purchased twenty thousand acres of his land [3]. On the eleventh of July, Penn entered into certain articles with the purchasers and adventurers, which were entitled "Conditions and Concessions [4]." These preliminaries being adjusted, a colony came over to America, this year, and commenced a settlement above the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware [5].

Thomas Mayhew, the first settler of Martha's Vineyard, died, in the ninety-third year of his age [6].

1 Sir William was the admiral, who assisted in taking Jamaica. See A. D. 1655.

2 See the Charter entire in Proud's Hist. Pennsylvania, i. 171—187, and a summary of it in Chalmers, i. 436. The preamble and the first section declare the reasons for the grant to be, the commendable desire of William Penn to enlarge the British empire, to promote commodities of trade, to reduce the savage natives, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion; together with a "regard to the memory and merits of his late father."

3 The land was sold at the rate of 20*l.* for every 1000 acres.

4 These are inserted in Proud, ii. Append. No. 1.

5 Proud, i. 170—196. Belknap, Biog. ii. 395—402, 410. Chalmers, i. [illegible]v. Hist. xli. 2. Three ships sailed for Pennsylvania, that year; [illegible]ndon, and 1 from Bristol. The John and Sarah, from London, [illegible]ave been the first, that arrived there; the Amity, from London, [illegible]ngers, was blown off to the W. Indies, and did not arrive at the [illegible] until the ensuing spring; the Bristol Factor arrived at the place, [illegible]ester now stands, on the 11th of December. The passengers, [illegible]e houses, went on shore, near the lower side of Chester creek; [illegible] river freezing up that night, they remained there all winter. [illegible] ibid.

6 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 202. See A. D. 1642, p. 266.

1682.

1682.

William Penn, the proprietary of Pennsylvania, published a frame of government; with a body of laws [1], agreed on in England between himself and the purchasers. To prevent all future pretence of claim to the province by the duke of York, or his heirs, he obtained of the duke his deed of release for it; and, as an additional territory to the province, he procured of the duke his right and interest in that tract of land, which was at first called the territories of Pennsylvania, afterward, *The three lower counties on Delaware* [2].

In the month of August, Penn, accompanied by about one hundred passengers, chiefly quakers, embarked for America; and landed at New Castle on the twenty-fourth of October. The next day the people were summoned to the court house; where, after possession of the country was legally given, he made a speech to the old magistrates and the people, acquainting them with the design of his coming, the nature and end of government, particularly of that, which he came to establish; assuring them of "liberty of conscience and civil freedoms," and recommending them to live in sobriety and peace. He also renewed the commissions of the magistrates. Proceeding afterward to Upland [Chester], he there called an assembly on the fourth of December [3]. This assembly passed an act of union, annexing

1 The *frame of government* was published in April; and the chief intention of this famous charter was declared to be "for the support of power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power: For liberty, without obedience, is confusion; and obedience, without liberty, is slavery." The *body of laws*, agreed on by the adventurers, and intended as a supplement to the frame, was published in May; "and it does great honour to their wisdom as statesmen, to their morals as men, to their spirit as colonists." Chalmers, i. 641—643. Frame of Government and the Laws are in Proud's Hist. Pennsylvania, Appendix, No. II.

2 Proud, i. 196—202. Chalmers, i. 641, 645. Belknap, Biog. ... 408. The duke of York gave two deeds of feoffment for the ... the first was for Newcastle and a district of 12 miles round it, as ... river Delaware; the second comprehended the tract from 12 miles ... Newcastle to the Hoarkills, "otherwise called Cape Hinlopen." ... tract formed the county of Newcastle; the second, the counties ... and Sussex. Ibid.

3 This assembly consisted of 72 delegates from the 6 counties ... which Pennsylvania and Delaware had been already divided. The ... men, though allowed by the *frame* to come, for this time, in their ... persons, yet declared, that the fewness of the people, their inability in ... ite,

ing the three lower counties to the province [1]; and an act of settlement, in reference to the "frame of government." The Dutch, Swedes, and other foreigners were then naturalized; and all the laws, agreed on in England, were passed in form [2].

Penn immediately entered into a treaty with the natives, from whom he purchased as much of the soil, as the circumstances of the colony required, and "settled a very kind correspondence" with them [3].

The

estate, and unskilfulness in matters of government, would not permit them to act; and desired therefore, that the deputies, now chosen, might serve both for the provincial council and general assembly; 3 out of every county for the former, and 9 for the latter. Chalmers, i. 645.

1 Until this union with Pennsylvania, these counties, from the year 1667, had been holden as an appendage to the government of New York. Encyclop. Brit. v. 719. The want of the royal authority for this act, with the operation of other causes, produced difficulties, which afterward rendered this union void; and the three lower counties had a separate assembly, though under the same governor. Belknap, Biog. ii. 412.

2 Proud, i. 204—206. On the west side of the Delaware, on the lands granted to Penn, the Dutch had, at this time, one place for religious worship at Newcastle, the Swedes, 3, one at Christeen, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicocoa (now in the suburbs of Philadelphia.) Ib. Smith, N. Jersey, 22. Chalmers [i. 643.] says, "when the proprietary arrived on the banks of the Delaware, he found them inhabited by 3000 persons, composed of Swedes, Dutch, Finlanders, and English."

3 Chalmers, i. 644. Proud [ii. 212.] says, the friendship, now begun, was never interrupted for the space of more than 70 years. One part of Penn's agreement with the Indians was, that they should sell no lands to any person, but to himself or his agents; another was, that his agents should not occupy nor grant any lands, but those which were fairly purchased of the Indians. These stipulations were confirmed by subsequent acts of Assembly; and every bargain, made between private persons and the Indians without leave of the proprietor, was declared void. Belknap, Biog. ii. 416. We have no disposition to detract from the merits of the wise and philanthropic founder of Pennsylvania, or of his pacific colony; but an impartial attention to the praise of justice and fidelity toward the natives cannot be granted them. The author of The History of Pennsylvania has, on this occasion, poetical lines from *Descriptio Pennsylvaniæ*, by Thomas Makin of Philadelphia, dated 1729, in which New England, in speaking of that colony, is stigmatized as involving herself in wars with the Indians by her own perfidy.

"Non regio hæc Indos armis subigendo tenetur,
Sed certa emptori conditione data est.
Una sed infelix, heu! bella *Novi Anglia* sensit;
Proh *Indis* quæ semper gens malefida fuit."

The language of a *poet*, when transcribed and translated by an *historian*, as serious prose, becomes injurious. A little softening in the translation would have relieved the charge. The facts, recorded in the early histories of New England, and especially the laws of the New England colonies,

The proprietary next proceeded, with the assistance of his surveyor general, Thomas Holme, to lay out a place for the projected city; to which he had already assigned the name of Philadelphia. The city was immediately begun; and, within less than a year, eighty houses and cottages were built [1]. The first settlers were generally quakers, who had suffered persecution, on account of their religion; and who, with other dissenters from the church of England, sought liberty of conscience in a country, which offered to the persecuted a peaceful asylum [2].

Governor Carteret of East Jersey, early in the year, transferred his rights in that province to William Penn and eleven associates; who immediately conveyed one half of their interest to the earl of Perth and eleven others [3]. In the towns of

demonstrate a great regard to the rights of the natives, both in the purchase of lands, and in the observance of treaties. Beside what may be found in this volume, in proof of the assertion, the observations of Dr. Belknap [Amer. Biog. iii. 417—419.] deserve attention. That discriminating, yet candid historian, after mentioning the instances of New England, and of the Dutch at Delaware, observes, that "it may be proper to consider Mr. Penn as having followed the 'examples of justice and moderation,' which had been set by former Europeans, in their conduct toward the natives of America."

1 Proud, i. 233, 234. Belknap, Biog. ii. 419—421. Chalmers [i. 643.] says, "we are assured," that near 100 houses and cottages were built in that time. The ground, chosen for the purpose of this city, was claimed by some Swedes; to whom Penn gave, in exchange for it, a larger quantity of land, at a small distance. Coaquannock (the Indian name of the place, selected for the city,) then exhibited an agreeable prospect. It had a high and dry bank next to the Delaware, and was finely ornamented with pine trees. Proud, i. 211, 233. Smith [N. Jersey, 108.] says, that, in 1678, a ship from Hull passed the first time so high up the Delaware, as Burlington; that off against Coaquannock, where was a bold shore, she passed so near it, in tacking, that a part of the rigging struck the trees; and that some of the passengers remarked, it was a fine spot for a to

2 Proud, i. 216, 217. Chalmers, i. 644. Chalmers (ib.) says, Pen "accompanied" to Pennsylvania by about 2000 emigrants; but he bly meant to include all the emigrations of this year. Penn, in a the ministers of England, dated 14 August, 1683, writes that h pleted "the settlement of six and twenty sail of people withi one year." Proud (ut supra) says, "the settlers amounted t number, that the parts near Delaware were peopled in a ve ner, even from about the falls of Trenton, down to Chester, on the river; besides the settlements in the lower counties."

3 Chalmers, i. 620. Univ. Hist. xxxix. 863. The reas Chalmers for Carteret's transfer (in February) is, that he wa with a province, which he could neither please nor govern." assigned for the conveyance made by Penn and his associates, is, t wished for aid in the arduous task of peopling and ruling a distant

of East Jersey there were supposed to be settled about seven hundred families [1]. Newark was already a compact town, said to contain about one hundred families [2]. A ship arrived, this year, at West Jersey, and landed three hundred and sixty passengers on the Jersey shore, between Philidelphia and Burlington [3].

Lord Cardross, a nobleman of Scotland, having formed a project for carrying over some of his countrymen to Carolina, embarked with a few families, and made an attempt to establish a colony on Port Royal island [4]; but this colony, claiming, from an agreement with the proprietaries, co-ordinate authority with the governor and grand council of Charlestown, was compelled, with circumstances of outrage, to acknowledge submission [5].

Carolina was now first divided into three counties; Berkeley, Craven, and Clarendon [6]. Governor West, in autumn, held a parliament, which enacted laws for settling a militia; for making high ways "through the boundless forest, which surrounded the capital;" for suppressing drunkeness and prophane swearing; and for the observation of the Lord's day [7].

Randolph, collector of the Port of Boston, having written home, that he was in danger of being punished with death, by virtue of an ancient law, as a subverter of the constitution, was ordered to return to England. Massachusetts was again threatened with a writ of *quo warranto*; and her agents in

[1] Ibid. Governor Carteret died in November; and Robert Barclay, the famous author of the Apology, was chosen governor of East Jersey, the next year. Smith, N. Jersey, 69, 166. Douglass [ii. 288.] says, Barclay "sometimes officiated by a deputy." During Carteret's administration, the general assemblies and supreme courts sat at Elizabeth town. Smith.

[2] Smith, N. Jersey, 161. This number was exclusive of the out plantations, which were supposed to contain half as many inhabitants as the

[3] Ibid. 156.

[4] Ibid. 160.

[5] . 88. Cardross soon returned to Britain. Ib.
s, i. 544. See A. D. 1686.

[6] erkeley filled the space around the capital, as far as Stono north, and the Sewee on the south; Craven occupied the e northward of it, toward Cape Fear, formerly denomidon; and Colleton contained Port Royal and the lands in its the distance of 30 miles. The first of these counties was the populated, as to have a county court for the determination airs; and the 20 members, which composed the lower house ment, were chosen at Charlestown. Ibid.

[7] ay. Hist. xl. 425. Chalmers, i. 544.

England represented to the general court the case of the colony as desperate 1.

Edward Cranfield, arriving at New Hampshire as lieutenant governor and commander in chief, found that the province contained four townships, with four thousand inhabitants, and mustered four hundred and fifty militia 2. His administration was extremely arbitrary and oppressive 3.

M. de la Sale descended the Missisippi to the sea; and, in the name of Louis XIV. king of France, taking possession of all the country watered by that great river, named it, in honour of the king, Louisiana 4.

1683.

The first assembly of Pennsylvania was holden at Philadelphia on the twelfth day of March. On the request of the assembly and of the freemen for a new charter, it was given them by the proprietary on the second of April, and accepted by the provincial council and assembly on the same day 5.

1 Chalmers, i. 411, 413. The agents desired the general court to determine, since many cities in England, and some of the plantations, had submitted, whether it were better to resign itself to the king's pleasure, or to suffer a writ to issue. After considerable debate and consideration, it was concluded by the court, and by the inhabitants generally, that it were "better to die by the hands of others, than by their own." The ministers advised the people to this conclusion; and Hutchinson [i. 337.] says, "the clergy turned the scale for the last time." Massachusetts had at length sent Joseph Dudley and John Richards as agents, in the room of those who returned in 1679. They sailed 31 May, 1682. Hubbard, MS. New England, chap lxx. The instructions to these agents were given with great caution, and restriction.

2 Chalmers, i. 494.

3 Belknap, New Hampshire, i. chap. viii. Adams, New England, i. 13

4 Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 464; Fastes Chron 36. Du Pratz, Univ. Hist. xl. 19, 20, 271. Wynne, i. 393. Some of these authors this discovery in 1683; I have followed Charlevoix. The chev Tonti, who had been left at Fort Crevecœur [See p. 380.] w by the Illinois to abandon that fortress; but the persevering another garrison there in 1681; and built a second fort, wh St. Lewis. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 464. See p. 350,

5 Proud, i. 239, 240. This second charter entitled, "The F Government of the Province of Pennsylvania and Territories t nexed, in America," is in Proud, ii. Append. No. III. By th provincial council was to consist of 18 persons, three from e and the assembly was to be composed of 36, six from each cou of most note for their virtue, wisdom, and ability." The am introduced into this second charter, had previously been agreed o 239.

Among

Among the settlers of Pennsylvania some, who came from Germany, of the denomination of quakers, settled seven miles distant from Philadelphia, and called their settlement Germantown [1]. A settlement was also made in that province by a large number of the ancient Britons, and called North Wales [2].

The inhabitants of New York now first participated in the legislative power. Thomas Dongan, arriving as governor of that province, issued orders to the sheriffs, to summon the freeholders, for choosing representatives to meet him in assembly on the seventeenth of October [3].

Articles of high crimes and misdemeanor were presented to the committee of plantations, by Randolph, against the corporation of Massachusetts in June; and an order of council was passed on the twenty-sixth of July, for issuing a *quo warranto* against the charter of Massachusetts, with a declaration from the king, that if the colony, before prosecution, would make full submission and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would regulate their charter for his service and their good, and with no farther alterations, than should be necessary for the support of his government there. Randolph, the evil genius of Massachusetts, arrived with the *quo warranto* in October [4]. The day after his arrival, a great fire happened in the richest part of the town of Boston [5].

1 Proud, i. 219, 220, 230. They consisted of about 20 families, from the Palatinate.

2 Ibid. Several of these settlers were of the original or early stock of the society of Friends in Wales. They had early purchased of the proprietary, in England, 40,000 acres of land. In the three first years, there arrived at Pennsylvania, from London, Bristol, Ireland, Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, Holland, Germany, &c. about 50 sail of ships, with passengers settlers. Ibid.

3 Smith, N. York, 44. The council, the court of assizes, and the corporation of New York, had concurred in soliciting the duke of York to allow the people to have a share in the government; and the duke instructed his deputy governor of the province, that he intended to establish such form of government as the other plantations enjoyed, "particularly the choosing of an assembly." Dongan, "a man of integrity, mode and genteel manners, though a professed papist," was appointed in 1682, and instructed to call an assembly. It was to consist of the council, composed of 10 members, and of a house of representatives, chosen by the freeholders, composed of 18 members. The laws of this assembly were to be of no force, without the ratification of the proprietary. Chalmers, i. 584.

4 Hutchinson, i. 338. Biblioth. Americ. 104. Chalmers, i. 414, 462. Hutchinson, ib. It consumed a great number of dwelling houses, warehouses, and vessels. Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 269.

Lord Effingham, appointed governor of Virginia, was expressly ordered "to allow no person to use a printing press on any occasion whatsoever [1]."

To remedy the distress, felt by the want of a common measure of commerce, the parliament of Carolina "raised the value of foreign coins." It also suspended all prosecution for foreign debts [2].

The French erected a fort between the lakes Erie and Huron [3].

1684.

The high court of chancery in England, on the eighteenth of June, gave judgment for the king against the governor and company of Massachusetts; their charter was declared to be forfeited; and their liberties were seized into the king's hands [4]. Colonel Kirk, of opprobrious memory, was now appointed governor of the colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Plymouth; but, before his commission and instructions could be finally settled, the demise of king Charles annulled his appointment [5].

The Five Nations, since the peace of 1671, had turned their arms to the southward, and conquered the country from the Missisippi to the borders of the plantations, as far as Carolina. Virginia and Maryland, often involved in the calamities of their Indian allies, whom they were unable to protect, except by treaties, found it expedient to settle a peace with the ferocious conquerors. A treaty was accordingly holden at a grand convention in Albany; and, on the

1 Chalmers, i. 345; "agreeably to the prayers of Sir W. Berkeley." See A. D. 1671.

2 Chalmers, i. 545. The *first* of these acts gave rise to the currency of Carolina, which afterward became extremely depreciated. The second, though at first confirmed by the proprietaries, was afterward disallowed from, "because it was contrary to the king's honour, since it was made to stop the course of justice; because the parliament had no power to make a law, so contrary to those of England." They also issued orders that all officers should be displaced, who had promoted it." Ibid.

3 Minot, i. 181. "During the peace, from 1667, to 1683, the French with a spirit of enterprize and perseverance, which do them honour, formed a settlement at Detroit, established a fort still farther off at Missilimakinack, and extended their commerce among the numerous nations that hunt on the banks of the Missisippi. They were, however, strongly opposed by the Five Nations." Chalmers, i. 589.

4 Hutchinson, i. 340; ii. 5. Chalmers, i. 415.

5 Chalmers, i. 417.

ses

second of August, a peace concluded by lord Effingham and governor Dongan in behalf of all the settlements [1].

Penn, the proprietary of Pennsylvania, went to England, leaving his province under the administration of five commissioners, chosen from the provincial council [2]. Philadelphia already contained nearly three hundred houses, and two thousand inhabitants [3].

In every town in East Jersey, there was a house for public worship, where religious service was performed every week [4].

The line of partition was run between New York and Connecticut [5].

All the land in the towns of Dorchester and Milton, in Massachusetts, with the exception of six-thousand acres previously reserved for the Indians, was granted and conveyed in a confirmatory deed from Charles Josiah, an Indian sachem, grandson of Chickatawbut [6].

M. de la Barre, with a large army from Canada, made an unsuccessful expedition into the country of the Five Nations [7].

1685.

1 Colden, 44. Chalmers, i. 587. Smith, N. York, 46.

2 Chalmers, i. 650. Thomas Lloyd was at the head of them, as president.

3 Belknap, Biog. ii. 424. Twenty other settlements were begun, including those of the Dutch and Swedes. Ibid. Proud, i. 288.

4 Smith, N. Jersey, 186. The people "being mostly New England men, do mostly incline to their way. They have no public laws in the country for maintaining public teachers, but the towns that have them, make way within themselves to maintain them." Newark appears to have been the only town in the province, which had a settled preacher, who "followed no other employment." Ibid. Letter from John Barclay and others to the proprietors.

5 Trumbull, i. 385. It was confirmed by the governors of those colonies 24 February, 1685.

6 Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 195. For this deed he received a valuable sum [illegible] money from William Stoughton, esquire. The same land had been [illegible]y conveyed by Josiah the father, and Chickatawbut the grand[illegible] this sachem. Ibid. See A. D. 1657.

[illegible] Chevoix, i. 489—493. The army was composed of 700 Canadians, [illegible]s, and 200 Indians, principally the Iroquois from the Fall of [illegible]y and the Hurons of Lorette. Ib. After a delay of six weeks [illegible] Fontenac, during which time a great sickness broke out in the [illegible]my, De la Barre found it neccessary to conclude the campaign [illegible]ty. Crossing the lake for that purpose, he was met, at a place [illegible], by the Oneidas, Onondagos, and Cayugas; the Mohawks [illegible] was refused to attend the treaty. Seated in a chair of state, the [illegible] and French officers forming a circle around him, he addressed [illegible] to Garangula, an Onondago chief, in a haughty speech, which [illegible] concluded with a menace of burning the castles of the Five Nations, and destroying the Indians, unless the satisfaction, which he demanded, were given. Garangula, seated at some distance before his men, with

1685.

Charles II. died on the sixteenth of February. He was succeeded by his brother James II. who was proclaimed at Boston on the twentieth of April[1]. Connecticut, with the other colonies congratulated him on his accession to the throne, and begged the protection of her chartered privileges; but in July a *quo warranto* was issued against the governor

his pipe in his mouth, and the great calumet of peace before him, did nothing but look at the end of his pipe, during this harangue. When it was finished, he walked five or six times round the circle, and then, standing upright, thus answered the French general, who was still seated in his elbow chair: "Onnuntio, I honour you, and all the warriors, who are with me, honour you. Your interpreter has finished your speech; I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears; hearken to them. Onnuntio, in setting out from Quebec, you must have imagined, that the scorching beams of the sun had burnt down the forests, which render our country inaccessible to the French; or that the inundations of the lakes had shut us up in our castles. But now you are undeceived; for I and my warriors have come to assure you, that the Senekas, Cayugas, Onondagos, Oneidas, and Mohawks, are yet alive." After ascribing the pacific overtures of the general to the impotence of the French, and repelling the charges brought against his countrymen, he added; "We are born free; we have no dependence either on the Onnuntio or the Corlar*." This speech, which furnishes an interesting specimen of the spirit and eloquence of the aboriginals, has this admirable conclusion: "My voice is the voice of all the Five Nations. Hear what they say; open your ears to what they speak. The Senekas, Cayugas, Onondagos, and Mohawks say, that when they buried the hatchet at Cataracuoy, in the presence of your predecessor, in the very centre of the fort, and planted the tree of peace in the same place, it was then agreed, that the fort should be used as a place of rendezvous for merchants, and not as a refuge for soldiers. Hear, Onnuntio, you ought to take care, that so great a number of soldiers, as appear there, do not choke the tree of peace, planted in so small a fort, and hinder it from shading both your country and ours with its branches. I do assure you, that our warriors shall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves, and that we will never dig the ax to cut it down, until the Onnuntio or the Corlar shall jointly or separately endeavour to invade the country, which the Spirit had given to our ancestors. This belt confirms my words; this other, the authority, which the Five Nations have given me." At this bold reply, De la Barre retired to his tent, and prudently suspended his menaces. Two days after, at the conclusion of the treaty, the Indian chief and his retinue returned to their country, and the French army embarked in their canoes for Montreal. Baron la Hontan's Voy. ii. 9, 6. Colden, 59. Smith, N. York, 46—50. Charlevoix, France, i. 491—493.

1 Sewall, MS. Diary. Hutchinson, i. 340. Chalmers [i. 417] "with sorrow and affected pomp."

* *Titles given by the Indians to the governor of Canada and N. York.*

and

and company of that colony [1]. A similar writ was issued in October against Rhode Island [2]. Randolph was now appointed, by the lord treasurer Rochester, deputy post master of New England [3]. King James, on the eighth of October, issued a commission, in which Joseph Dudley, a native of Massachusetts, was appointed president of New England [4].

The colony of Plymouth was divided into three counties; Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol [5]. In that colony there were, at this time, one thousand four hundred and thirty-nine praying Indians [6].

The commerce of Charlestown, the capital of Carolina, began to attract notice in England, and the first collector was established for that port [7].

The assembly of Carolina passed an act for clearing lots and streets of Charlestown, and for settling and regulating a nightly watch in the town [8].

1 Chalmers, i. 297. Trumbull, i. 386. The Articles of high misdemeanor, which were exhibited against the governor and company, are in Chalmers, i. 301—304. They are signed by Edward Randolph.

2 Callender, 47. Adams, N. Eng. 141.

3 Chalmers, i. 463. This appears to be the first instance of such an appointment in the English colonies. Ibid.

4 Hutchinson, i. 341—345; 350—353. Belknap, N. Hamp. i. 230—234. Trumbull, i. 388. Coll Hist. Soc. v. 244. Chalmers, i. 418. The royal grasp did not at first take in *all* the New England colonies. The jurisdiction of the president and council extended over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the Narraganset or king's province. The royal commision was received on the 15th of May, 1686, and published on the 25th of that mouth: at which time Dudley's administration commenced. It was short, and "not very grievous." The house of delegates was indeed laid aside; but the ancient ordinances of the general court were declared to be in force; and the laws and customs of the colony were continued. Ib.

5 Morton [Supplement], 207.

6 Hutchinson, i. 349.

t Pawnet, Billingsgate and Eastham or Nauset	264	Monamet	110
		Saltwater Pond	90
noymet	115	Namasket and Titicut	70
ucket and Nobscusset	121	Namatakeeset	40
esee	70	Moxisset	85
ton or Scanton	51	Cooxit	120
pee	141	Seconet	90
hesset	72		
			1439

oys and girls under 12 years old, who were supposed to be more hree times that number. Ib.

Chalmers, i. 548. Drayton, S. Carol. 160.

8 Drayton, S. Carol. 201. The "first known act" for that purpose.

The

The town of Branford, in Connecticut, after a long period of desertion, became resettled, and reinvested with town privileges [1].

The inhabitants of Canada amounted to seventeen thousand; three thousand of whom were supposed to be capable of bearing arms [2].

1686.

The Spaniards at St. Augustine, suspecting that the English colonists inflamed the natives against them, invaded the southernmost frontiers of Carolina, and laid waste the feeble settlements of Port Royal [3]. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued, about this time against the patent of Carolina [4].

The attorney general of England was ordered to prosecute writs of *quo warranto* against East and West Jersey with effect [5]. Several persons in East Jersey having received abuses, and been put in great fear by quarrels and challenges, a law was made for their suppression [6].

1 Trumbull, i. 289, 290. Mr. Pierson, minister of Bradford, and almost his whole church and congregation, were so dissatisfied with the union of New Haven and Connecticut in 1665, that they soon removed into Newark, in New Jersey. People from various parts of the colony gradually moved into the deserted town.

2 Chalm. i. 609. "An accurate account taken by order of the governor."

3 Chalmers, i. 537, 548. The Carolinians prepared to attack St. Augustine; but were restrained by the remonstrance of the proprietaries, and relinquished the project. Hewet [i. 89.] says, no attempts were afterward made for many years toward establishing a colony in that quarter.

4 Chalmers, i. 549. "The proprietaries, prudently bending before a storm, which it seemed vain to resist, eluded the force of a blast, that had laid the charters and governments of New England in ruins." They offered a treaty of surrender. See ibid. 564—566. Carolina had as yet no commodity fit for the markets of Europe, but a few skins, and a little [illegible], both of which did not amount yearly to 2000 *l.* lb.

5 Chalmers, i. 622. The proprietaries now represented to king J[illegible] that they had paid for this province 12,000 *l.* and that they had sent to it several hundreds of people from Scotland.

6 Smith, New Jersey, 195. The law declared, that none, b[illegible] message, shall make a challenge upon pain of six months impris[illegible] without bail or mainprize, and a 10 *l.* fine; that whoever accept[illegible] ceals, the challenge shall also forfeit 10 *l.*; that no person shall [illegible] pocket pistols, skeins, stilladers, daggers, or dirks, or other unu[illegible] pons, upon pain of 5 *l.* forfeiture for the first offence, and for the [illegible] to be committed; and, on conviction, imprisoned for 6 months, a[illegible] pay a fine of 10 *l.* No person might go armed with sword, pistol, or [illegible] ger, on penalty of 5 *l.* Ibid.

King

King James, determining to establish the same arbitrary rule in New York, as he designed for New England, deprived that colony of its immunities. Dongan, whose commission was now renewed, was instructed, among other articles, "to allow no printing press." Deprived, at the same time, of the assembly, New York was reduced to the condition of a conquered province. There were now in that province four thousand foot, three hundred horse, and one company of dragoons. The shipping, belonging to the city of New York, had increased to nine or ten three mast vessels, of about eighty or ninety tons; two or three hundred ketches or barks, of about forty tons; and about twenty sloops, of twenty-five tons [1]. The city was now first regularly incorporated by a charter [2]. Albany, on the Hudson, was incorporated this year [3].

Sir Edmund Andros arrived at Boston on the twentieth of December, with a commission from king James for the government of New England [4]. He was instructed to appoint no one of the council, or any to other offices, but those of the best estates and characters, and to displace none without sufficient cause; to continue the former laws of the country, so far as they were not inconsistent with his commission or instructions, until other regulations were established by the governor and council; to allow no printing press; to give universal toleration in religion, but encouragement to the church of England; to execute the laws of trade, and prevent frauds in the customs. To support a government, that could not be submitted to from choice, a small military establishment, consisting of two companies of soldiers, was formed, and military stores were transported [5].

Before the expiration of the month, Andros, agreeably to his orders, dissolved the government of Rhode Island; broke

[1] Chalmers, i. 588, 601.

[2] Smith, New York, 195. New York was put under the government of a mayor and aldermen in 1665; which Smith denominated an incorporation. See that year.

[3] Ib. 198.

[4] Sewall's MS. Diary. Chalmers [i. 419.] says, he was appointed captain general and vice admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Nantucket, Pemaquid, and Narraganset, during pleasure. "He was received with a satisfaction in proportion only as he was less dreaded than Kirk." Ib. 421. Hume [Hist. Eng.] calls Kirk "a barbarian." See an account of him, ib.

[5] Chalmers, i. 420, 421. Judge Sewall, who lived in Boston, and was there when Andros arrived, writes in his Diary: "Dec. 24. About 60 red-coats are brought to town, landed at Mr. Pool's wharf, where drew up, and so marched to Mr. Gibbs's house at Fort Hill."

its

its seal; admitted five of its inhabitants into his legislative council; and assumed the administration [1].

Many of the inhabitants of Roxbury, in Massachusetts, received from the government the grant of a tract of land, in the southern part of the colony, for a settlement, which was named Woodstock [2].

Samuel Lee, a dissenting minister of London, of great learning and reputation, came to New England [3].

The first episcopal society was formed in Boston; and the service of the Common Prayer book introduced [4].

A small

1 Ibid. 279. When Andros demanded the Charter of Clarke, the late governor of Rhode Island, he promised to deliver it "at a fitter season." Ibid. 421.

2 Hutchinson, ii. 204. Bounded south by Woodward and Saffery's line.

3 Sewall, MS. Diary. He was settled in the ministry at Bristol, not long after his arrival; but he did not continue there "much above three years." Soon after the Revolution, he embarked for England; but the ship, in which he took passage, was taken by a French privateer, and carried into St. Maloes in France. His family being sent thence into England, without his knowledge, and he, by the king's order, detained; he fell into a fever, and died in a few days, Ætat. LXIV. He well understood the learned languages; spoke Latin fluently and elegantly; was well versed in all the liberal arts and sciences; "was a great master in physic and alchymy; and no stranger to any part of polite or useful learning." Calamy's Continuation of Account of Ejected Ministers, i. 53—56. Among the MSS. preserved in the British Museum, there is one of Samuel Lee, entitled "Answer to many Queries relative to America, chiefly to the Natural Productions and Diseases. 1690." Biblioth. Americ. 30.

4 Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 259. The service was introduced before the arrival of Andros. Randolph was active in promoting it. Judge Sewall writes in his Diary: "August 5, [1686,] William Harrison the bodice maker is buried, which is the first that I know of buried with the Common Prayer Book in Boston. He was formerly Mr. Randolph's landlord." "August 21. Mr. Randolph and Mr. Bullivant were here. Mr. Randolph mentioned a contribution toward building them a church, and seemed to goe away displeased because I spake not up to it." Andros, on the day of his arrival, applied for the use of one of the churches in Boston. Judge Sewall (in having mentioned, that the governor and counsellors took the oaths at the Town house (remarking, that the "governour stood with his hat on" while oaths given to counsellors"), writes: "It seems [he] speaks to the [illegible] in the Library about accommodation as to a meeting house, that they contrive the time, as one house might serve two assemblies." "There is a meeting at Mr. Allen's of the Ministers and four of each congregation, to consider what answer to give the Governour; and they agreed, that could not with a good conscience consent that our [illegible] houses should be made use of for the Common Prayer worship." "August 22, 1686-7. This day his Excellency views the three meeting houses. The Governour sends Mr. Randolph for the keys of our meeting house, [Old South,] that may say prayers there. Mr. Eliot, Frary, Oliver, Savage, Davis, and myself wait on his excellency, show that the land and house is ours, and that we can't consent to part with it to such use; exhibit an

A small brick church was built in School Street, in Boston, by some French protestants; who, on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, sought an asylum in New England [1].

1687.

The attorney general received orders from king James, in April, to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against the charter of the proprietor of Maryland; but no judgment was ever obtained [2].

Sir Edmund Andros went, in October, with his suite and more than sixty regular troops, to Hartford, where the assembly of Connecticut was then sitting; demanded the charter; and declared the government to be dissolved. The assembly, extremely reluctant and slow to surrender, or to produce, the charter kept the subject in debate and suspence until evening; when the charter was brought and laid on the table, where the assembly was convened. The lights were now instantly extinguished. There was no appearance however of disorder. The candles were relighted; but the patent was gone. Sir Edmund assumed the government; and the records of the colony were closed [3].

An

an extract of Mrs. Norton's deed, and how 'twas built by particular persons, as Hull, Oliver, 100 *l.* apiece, &c." "Friday, March 25, 1687. The Governour has service in the South meeting house. Goodm. Needham, though had resolved to the contrary, was prevailed upon to ring the bell and open the door at the Governour's command, one Smith and Hill, joiner and shoemaker, being very busy about it."

1 Ibid. 264. There was a contribution in New England for their relief. In Salem 26 *l.* were contributed in September. "The greater part went to the southern states, particularly to South Carolina." Ibid. vi. 265.

2 Chalmers, i. 371.

3 Chalmers, i. 298. Trumbull, i. 390, 391. Captain Wadsworth of Hartford silently carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow which, to this day, is regarded with veneration, as the preserver of the institution of the colony. Trumbull, ibid. The venerable oak stood by of the house of the honourable Samuel Wyllys, esquire, then one of the magistrates of the colony. It still remains within the enclosure of the family mansion; and is in little danger of injury, except from time, under the auspicious care of the Wyllys family. In reply to an inquiry concerning this tree, a daughter of the present Secretary Wyllys of Connecticut wrote to me, from Hartford: "That venerable Tree, which saved the Charter of our rights, stands at the foot of Wyllys Hill. An inhabitant of that name found it standing in the height of its glory. Age seems to have curtailed its branches, yet it is not exceeded in the height of its colouring or richness of its foliage. The trunk measures 23 feet in circumference, and near 7 in diameter. The cavity, which was the asylum of our Charter, was near the roots, and large enough to admit

An order was transmitted from England to the governor of New York, to permit vessels to pass, without interruption, to East Jersey, on paying the same customs as at New York [1].

There were in Massachusetts, at this time, beside the principal church at Natick, four Indian assemblies of religious worshippers. In Plymouth colony, beside the principal church at Marshpee, there were five assemblies in that vicinity, and a large congregation at Saconet. Between Saconet and Cape Cod there were six societies, with an Indian teacher to each; one church at Nantucket; and three at Martha's Vineyard [2].

James II. detached Sir Robert Holmes, with a small fleet, and an extraordinary commission, for suppressing pirates in the West Indies. The governor and council of Carolina received orders to show an example of submission to his powers and to afford every assistance to his armament [3].

M. de la Sale, the discoverer of Louisiana, returning from an enterprize for the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi, was shot, in a mutiny, by one of his own men [4].

The

admit a child. Within the space of eight years, that cavity has closed, as if it had fulfilled the divine purpose for which it had been reared."

1 Ibid. 622. The Jerseys were, not long after, annexed to N. England.

2 Mather, Magnal. book iii. 194, 195. "There are 6 churches of baptized Indians, and 18 assemblies of catachumens, professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians there are 24, who are preachers of the Word of God; and besides these there are four English ministers, who preach the gospel in the Indian tongue." Ibid. Lett. of I. Mather to Professor Leusden of Utrecht.

3 Chalmers, i. 546, 547. "This sensible project proved successful; till new causes not long after gave rise to piratical adventures, which required all the continued energy of William and Mary to suppress." Ib. Univ. Hist. xli. 361, 362. Hume says of James II. that "his application to naval affairs was successful, his encouragement of trade judicious, his jealousy of national honour laudable." Hist. Eng. James II. chap. ii. Henault says the public are indebted to this prince, when only duke of York, for the contrivance of signals on board a fleet, by the means of flags and streamers. Hist. France, ii. 200.

4 Univ. Hist. xl. 260. After his discovery in 1682, he went to France and obtained leave of the king to discover the mouth of the Mississippi, and to make a settlement there. He sailed in 1684 from Rochelle, with four vessels, 100 soldiers, and a number of people for settlement. Arriving at a large bay, he took it to be the right branch of the Mississippi, and called it St. Louis. This was the bay of St. Bernard, at the distance of 100 leagues westward of the Mississippi. Here he built a fort, and put 100 men in it. He made war on the natives; and travelled along the coast, to find the true mouth of the great river, which at length he imagined he had discovered, and built a second fort. Returning to his first fort, and finding that the frigate,

The French court aimed a blow, which threatened to destroy all the British interest in North America [1]. M. Denonville, succeeding M. de la Barre, took the field with fifteen hundred French and five hundred Indians. The Senekas had absolutely refused to meet M. de la Barre at the late treaty, and were known to be most firmly attached to the English; it was therefore determined to extirpate or humble them, and to make them examples of French resentment to all the other Indians. M. Denonville commenced his march from Cataracui fort on the twenty-third of June. When the army had reached the foot of a hill, about a quarter of a league from the chief village of the Senekas, the Indians, who lay in ambush [2], suddenly raised the war shout, with a discharge of fire arms. This surprize threw the French into confusion, of which the Senekas, took instant advantage, and fell upon them with great fury; but the French Indians rallied at length, and repulsed them. In this action, a hundred Frenchmen, ten French Indians, and about eighty Senekas were killed. The next day Denonville marched forward, with the intention of burning the village; but found it in ashes. The Senekas had burned it, and fled [3]. Nothing was left to employ the valour of the soldiers, but the corn in the fields, which they effectually destroyed. Before Denonville returned to Canada, he built a fort of four bastions at Niagara, and left in it a hundred men, with provisions; but it was soon after abandoned [4].

frigate, and most of the men, goods, and provisions were lost; he took a few men with him, and travelled through the country, to find out the Illinois, purposing by that river to return to Canada. On this journey he was killed. The rest of the party proceeded by the way of the Illinois to Quebec. The Clamcoets, an Indian tribe, which had been ill treated by some of the new settlers, no sooner heard of Sale's death, than they surprized the inhabitants of St. Louis, and murdered them all, with the exception of four or five persons, whom they carried to their village. Univ. Hist. xl. 260—269. Hennepin in Harris, Voy. ii. 911—915. Du Pratz, i. 6. Encyclop. Methodique, Commerce, *Art.* COMPAGNIE DU MISSISIPPI, and LOUISIANE. Atlas Geog. America, v. 681.

[1] "The war was undertaken, chiefly to put a stop to the English trade, which began to extend itself far into the continent, and would in its consequence ruin theirs." Colden, 78.

[2] The scouts had advanced before the army as far as the corn of the village without seeing a single Indian; though they passed within pistol shot of 500 Senekas, who lay on their bellies, and let them pass and repass, without disturbing them. Ib.

[3] Only old men only were found in the castle, who were cut into pieces and boiled, to make soup for the French allies Ib.

[4] Colden, 77—79. Univ. Hist. xl. 37—39. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, ii. 516—518.

1688.

The inhabitants of several towns in the county of Essex, in Massachusetts, refused to lay the assessments, without which the taxes, imposed by the grand legislative council, under the administration of Andros, could not be collected. "The feeble but magnanimous efforts of expiring freedom" were considered as seditious; and punishments were inflicted, proportioned to the aggravations of the supposed crime [1]. So great already were the oppressions of the colony, that some of the principal colonists sent the reverend Increase Mather to England, as an agent, to represent their grievances to the king [2].

It being determined to superadd New York and the Jerseys to the jurisdiction of the four colonies of New England; a new commission was passed in March, appointing Andros captain general and vice admiral over the whole. Francis Nicholson was soon after named his lieutenant, with the accustomed authority. The constitution, established on this occasion, was a legislative and executive governor and council, who were appointed by the king, without the consent of the people [3].

The eastern Indians having renewed hostilities [4], Andros marched against them at the head of eight hundred m

1 Chalmers, i. 422. The select men of Ipswich voted, "That inasmuch as it is against the privilege of English subjects to have money raised, without their own consent in an assembly or parliament, therefore they will petition the king, for liberty of an assembly, before they make any rates." Sir Edmund caused them to be imprisoned and fined, some 20 *l.* some 30 *l.* and some 50 *l.* as the judges, by him instructed, should see fit to determine. Mr. Appleton, who had been an assistant, and Mr. Wise the minister of Ipswich, were imprisoned. Hutchinson, i. 365.

2 Hutchinson, i. 366. Randolph, having failed in one action of defamation against Mr. Mather, was bringing forward a new action against [illegible]. To avoid the service of the writ, he kept concealed; and some of his [illegible] carried him aboard ship in the night, in disguise. Ib.

3 Chalmers, i. 425.

4 The lands from Penobscot to Nova Scotia had been ceded [illegible] French by the treaty of Breda. The baron de St. Castine had [illegible] years resided on those lands, and carried on a large trade with the [illegible] with whom he was intimately connected, having several of their [illegible] beside a daughter of the sachem Madokawando, for his wives. [illegible] a ship, belonging to Pascataqua, landed some wines at Penobsc[illegible] posing it to be within the French territory. The agents of the [illegible] York at Pemaquid went and seized the wines; but, by the influence [illegible] the French ambassador in England, an order was obtained for the restora[illegible] tion

On his approach, they retired into their fastnesses; but, by establishing garrisons, by detaching numerous parties, to attack their settlements and destroy their scanty provisions, he reduced them to the greatest distress, and secured the country from their incursions [1].

The first episcopal church in Massachusetts was erected in Boston, in Tremont Street, and called King's Chapel [2].

The French, settled in New France, now amounted to eleven thousand two hundred and forty-nine persons [3].

1689.

King James having abdicated the throne, William, prince of Orange, and Mary, the daughter of James, were proclaimed on the sixteenth of February [4]. A report of the landing of the prince of Orange in England had reached America; but before the news of the entire revolution arrived, a most daring one was effected in New England. The colonists had borne the impositions of the new administration about three years. Their patience was now exhausted. A rumour, that a massacre was intended in Boston by the governor's guards, was sufficient to kindle their resentment into rage [5]. On the morning of the eighteenth of April the town was in arms, and the people poured in from the country to the assistance of the capital. The governor and such of the council as had been most active, with other obnoxious persons, to the collective number of about fifty, were seized and confined; and the old magistrates were reinstated [6].

The

on of them. On this occasion, a new line was run, which took Castine's plantation into the duke's territory. In the spring of 1688, Andros nt in the Rose frigate, and plundered Castine's house and fort. This base n provoked Castine to excite the Indians to a new war; they, on their not wanting pretences for its renewal. See Belknap, New Ha 242, 243; Hutchinson, i. 370.

mers, i. 429. Belknap, [New Hampshire, i. 244.] says, Andros n.

ist Soc. iii. 259.

Hist. xl. 47.

Chronol. James abdicated, and went to France, 23 Dec. 1688. umour might have been the more easily credited, on account ary orders, given out on the reception of a copy of the Prince s Declaration. "A proclamation was issued, charging all offi- people to be in readiness to hinder the landing of any forces, which ce of Orange might send into those parts of the world."

Captain George, of the Rose frigate, was first seized and imprisoned; nd, some hours after, Sir Edmund Andros was taken in his fort. No less

The new council, inviting others to join with them, took the title of "A council for the safety of the people and conservation of the peace;" and chose Mr. Bradstreet their president. On the second of May, the council recommended, that an assembly by a delegation from the several towns in the colony should meet on the ninth of that month. Sixty-six persons met, and, having confirmed the new government, it was agreed, that on the twenty-second day of the same month there should be a meeting of the representatives of all the towns in the colony. On that day, the representatives of fifty-four towns met at Boston; and, after various *debates*, it was determined "to resume the government according to charter rights [1]." On the twenty-fourth, the governor and magistrates, chosen in 1686, signed a paper, declaring their acceptance of the care and government of the people according to the rules of the charter, until by direction from England there be an orderly settlement of government. On the twenty-ninth, king William and queen Mary were proclaimed, with great ceremony, in Boston. Addresses were sent to the king. Application was made for express authority to exercise government acccording to the old charter, until a new one could be settled. This privilege was obtained [2].

The freemen of Rhode Island, on hearing of the imprisonment of Andros, met at Newport, on the first of May, voted to resume their charter, and replaced all the general officers, who had been displaced three years before [3].

Information of the accession of William and Mary to the throne was received with joy at New York, and the lieutenant governor and council waited with anxiety for orders to proclaim them; but while the principal officers and magistrates were assembled to consult for the public safety, Jacob Leisler, with forty-nine men, seized the garrison at N[illegible]

than 1500 men surrounded the fort on Fort Hill, which surrendered. next day, the governor was confined in the fort under strong guar that day also, the castle, on Castle Island, was summoned, and s Chalmers, i. 469, 470. Captain George was obliged to give le board his ship, and bring the sails on shore. The troops, whi around Fort Hill, pointed the guns of the South battery towa on the summit, and thus brought the governor's garrison to s

1 Each town gave instructions to its delegates, whether to charter or not; and 40 of the 54 "were for reassumption." H

2 Hutchinson, i. 372—390. Chalmers, i. 429—431. Belkn Hampshire, i. 235, 236. There are no public records, from th tion of the old charter government in 1686, until the restoration o 1689. Hutchinson, i. 354.

3 Callender, 49.

York,

York, and held it for the prince of Orange. William and Mary were proclaimed there in June; and the province was now ruled by a committee of safety, at the head of which was Leisler [1].

The inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland at once proclaimed William and Mary king and queen of England [2].

On the twenty-seventh of June, the Senekas, Cayugas, Onondagos, and Oneidas, renewed their covenant with the English [3].

Twelve hundred Indians of the Five nations, invading the island of Montreal on the twenty-sixth of July, burned all the plantations, and made a terrible massacre of men, women, and children. The whole French colony was thrown into consternation; and Valrenes, the commander at Catarocuay, by order of Denonville abandoned the fortress at that place [4].

A conference was holden at Albany, in September, between several commissioners from the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, and the Five Nations [5].

1690.

Count Frontenac detached from Canada three parties of French and Indians, who were to take three different routs into the English territories. One party, consisting of a hundred and fifty French Indian traders and as many Indians, surprized and destroyed Schenectady [6]. Another party,

1 Smith, New York, 59. Chalmers, i. 591, 592.

2 Chalmers, i. 431.

3 Colden, 99. This renewal of covenant was previous to the arrival of count Frontenac, who came over 2 October, this year, as governor of Canada, at the age of 68 years. M. Denonville was recalled. Ib. 96.

4 Smith, N. York, 56. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 549. Univ. Hist. 49—51. Smith says, 1000 French were slain in this invasion, and 26 ied into captivity and burnt alive. Charlevoix' account of the barbari- the Indians, in the massacre at Montreal, is too horrid to translate: rirent le sein des femmes enceintes, pour en arracher le fruit, qu' oient, ils mirent des enfans tout vivans à la broche, et contraig- meres de les tourner pour les faire rôtir."

h, N. York, 68. Colden, 100—104. The commissioners endea- o engage the Five Nations against the eastern Indians, who were ar with N. England; but, though they would not enter into that ratified their friendship with the English colonies. "We pro- aid they, "to preserve the chain inviolably, and wish that the sun ways shine in peace over all our heads, that are comprehended in hain."

6 The assault was made about 11 or 12 o'clock on Saturday night, and 90 men, women, and children were massacred, "being divided and secure." Sewall, MS. Diary. See Colden, 113—115.

consisting of fifty-two men, of whom twenty-five were Indians, surprized Salmon Falls, near Pascataqua, and killed about thirty of the bravest of the inhabitants; the rest, to the number of fifty-four, principally women and children, surrendered at discretion. The Sieur Hertel, who commanded this expedition, met, on his way homeward, a third party, which had marched from Quebec; and, joining his company to it, attacked and destroyed the fort Casco [1].

The Indians having taken the fort at Pemaquid [2], and the French privateers from Acadie still infesting the coasts of New England; the general court of Massachusetts determined to make an attempt on Port Royal. A fleet of eight small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men under the command of Sir William Phips, sailed on that expedition on the twenty-eighth of April. The fort at *Port Royal*, being in no capacity to sustain a siege, surrendered, with little or no resistance; and Sir William took possession of the whole sea coast, from Port Royal to the New England settlements [3].

The people of New England, ascribing their troubles to Canada, formed a bold and hazardous design to reduce it to subjection to the crown of England. An armament was equipped for that service, and the command of it given to Sir William Phips. The fleet, retarded by unvoidable accidents, did not arrive before Quebec until the fifth of October. Phips, the next morning, sent a summons on shore, but received an insolent answer from count Frontenac. The next day, he attempted to land his troops, but was prevented by the violence of the wind. On the eighth, all the effective men, amounting to between twelve and thirteen hundred, landed at the Isle of Orleans, four miles below the town, and were fired on, from the woods, by French and In-

1 Belknap, New England, i. 257—259. Casco fort contained above 10[illegible] persons. It was taken "whilst the forces were gone to Port Royal." [illegible] chinson, i. 397.

2 The Indians besieged that fort 22 August, 1689. It was so [illegible] as to be overlooked from a rock, that was near it; from which th[illegible] galled the garrison to such a degree, that the next day is capit[illegible] terms, "which were kept with Indian faith, some of the men be[illegible] chered, and the others carried captive." Hutchinson, i. 396.

3 Ibid. 396, 397. The fleet returned 30 May. The author of [illegible] et Commerce des Colonies Angloises (65, 66.) says, that Sir W[illegible] stroyed the French fort at the river St. John; that he cleared the c[illegible] of all the French, who refused to take the oath of fidelity to the k[illegible] England; and that he placed a governor there, to command those, consented to remain. Brit. Emp. [i. 176.] says, that about a third part the whole number remained; and that most of these were protestants.

dians.

dians. Having remained on shore until the eleventh, and then learning by a deserter the strength of the place, they embarked with precipitation. A tempest soon after dispersed the fleet; which made the best of its way back to Boston [1].

Success had been so confidently expected, that adequate provision was not made at home for the payment of the troops. There was danger of a mutiny. In this extremity, the government of Massachusetts issued bills of credit, as a substitute for money; and these were the first, that were ever issued in the American colonies [2].

King William sent a large body of French refugees to Virginia; and lands were allotted to them on the bank of James river. Others of them, purchasing lands of the proprietors of Carolina, transported themselves and their families to that colony, and settled on the river Santee [3].

1 Hutchinson, i. 399—401. Smith, N. York, 68, 69. Colden, 126—131. Sir William arrived at Boston on the 19th of November. Some vessels of the fleet were blown off to the West Indies; one was lost on Anticosta; and two or three were wrecked, or never heard of. About 200 men were lost by the enemy and by sickness; "not above 30 by the enemy."—A small vessel had been sent to England express, early in April, to solicit assistance for the reduction of Canada; but the English government had too much on its hands, to pay any attention to the proposal. Massachusetts however determined to proceed; and Connecticut and New York engaged to furnish a body of men. From these two colonies 2000 were expected to march by Lake Champlain, and attack Montreal, at the same time when the forces by sea should be before Quebec. The fleet, which sailed 9 August from Nantasket, contained between 30 and 40 vessels, the largest of 44 guns and 200 men. The whole number of men was about 2000. Great dependence was placed on the expected division of the French force; but the army, designed against Montreal, had unhappily retreated; and the news of its retreat had reached Montreal before the fleet arrived at Quebec. This occurrence must have dispirited the English forces, and proportionally have animated the French. Count Frontenac was now able to employ the whole strength of Canada against the little invading army. Some writers ascribe the return of the New York and Connecticut troops to a pardonable cause. Charlevoix, with whose account Smith seems best to agree, says, our army was disappointed in the intended diversion, by the fox, which seized the camp, killed 300 men, and terrified our [illegible].

[illegible]nson, i. 402. Belknap, New Hampshire, i. 263.

[illegible], 108. Others, who were merchants and mechanics, took up [illegible]nce in Charlestown, and followed their different occupations. [illegible] settlers were a great acquisition to Carolina. It is highly to [illegible]r of England, that, even in the reign of king James, large col[illegible]had been made for the French refugees; and that, after king William's [illegible]ccession to the throne, the parliament voted 15,000*l.* sterling to [illegible]s..ibuted among persons of quality, and all such as, through age or [illegible]nfirmity, were unable to support themselves or families.

Seth

Seth Sothel, countenanced by a powerful faction, and presuming on his powers as proprietary, arrived suddenly at Charlestown, the capital of Carolina, and seized the reins of government [1].

The whalefishery at Nantucket commenced this year [2].

The island of St. Christopher's was reconquered from the French, by the English under colonel Codrington; and the male white inhabitants, amounting to about eighteen hundred, were sent, with their women and children, to Hispaniola and Martinico [3].

The island of New Providence had now become so populous, that the proprietaries sent Cadwallader Jones to be its governor [4].

1691.

Colonel Henry Sloughter arrived at New York, with a commission to be governor of that province. The first assembly, after the Revolution, was holden on the ninth of April [5]. The province was now, by an act of assembly, divided into ten counties [6].

Major Peter Schuyler, with a party of Mohawks, passed over lake Champlain, and made a bold irruption into the French settlements at the north end of the lake [7].

The general assembly of Virginia solicited and obtained a charter from the crown, for the establishment of a college, projected in that colony. The king and queen gave, at the same time, nearly two thousand pounds toward the

[1] Chalmers, i. 552. Hewet, i. 102—104. His popularity and power were of short duration. The assembly compelled him to abjure the government and country for ever. The proprietaries dissented from the laws passed under his government; and, in 1692, appointed a new governor.

[2] Coll. Hist. Soc. iii. 157.

[3] Univ. Hist. xl. 278.

[4] Ibid. xli. 332.

[5] Smith, New York, 71—73. All laws, made in the province prior to this period, were disregarded both by the legislature and courts of law. In the Collection of the Acts of the province, made in 1691, the compilers were directed to begin at this Assembly. Ibid. Leisler, who refused to deliver up the fort to the governor, was afterward executed to death for high treason. Ibid.

[6] Ibid. 186. The division is there said to be into 12 counties, but only ten are described; and there were no more than 10, so late as 1698. See Smith, ib. 206.

[7] Smith, New York, 78. Univ. Hist. [xxxix. 350.] says, Schuyler had 300 English and 300 Indians. Colden [129.] says, that, in his several attacks, the French lost 2 captains, 6 lieutenants, and 300 men.

charge

charge of building; and endowed the seminary with twenty-thousand acres of the best land, together with the perpetual revenue, arising from the duty of one penny per pound on all tobacco, transported from Virginia and Maryland to the other English plantations. In grateful acknowledgment of the royal patronage and benefaction, the college was called William and Mary [1].

1 Keith, 169. Beverly, 138, 139. Coll. Hist. Soc. v. 165.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

THIS VOLUME brings down the Annals to the Revolution of William and Mary. A very respectable historian remarks, that the legal and constitutional history of the American colonies, in their early periods, affords but little instruction. *Cecinit prælia.* His subject was war. Chalmers supposes, that the political annals of the colonies from their settlement to that Revolution may be thought by some the most curious and instructive; because, during that eventful period, the colonies were planted; their constitutions, after various changes, were established; the groundwork of their future jurisprudence was laid; and they were sensibly affected by every change, which the innovations of those days introduced into the parent country.

NOTES.

NOTE I. (p. 14.)

HISTORIANS assign different *dates* to this voyage. In the Voyages of Ramusius, Sebastian Cabot is represented as placing it in 1496; and respectable historians have hence taken that for the true year. On a critical examination of the account in Ramusius, there does not appear sufficient ground for their conclusion. Ramusius derived his account from Butrigarius, the pope's legate in Spain, who derived his information from S. Cabot. In Cabot's account, which was merely verbal, the *time* of the voyage was incidentally mentioned, and without precision: "The king commanded two caravels to be furnished with all things appertaining to the voyage; which was, *as farre as I remember*, in the year 1496, in the beginning of summer." Nor ought this uncertainty of Cabot himself to appear strange, when it is considered, that he was then an old man, as we learn from the same conversation with the legate: "After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit; and waxeing old I give myself to rest from such travels." Instead therefore of trusting to so vague an account, I have chosen to rely on "an extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot concerning his discovery of the West Indies, which," Hakluyt says, "is to be seene in her majesty's privie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses." The extract (which is preserved in Hakluyt, iii. 6.) begins thus: "Anno Domini 1497 Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, & Sebastianus illius filius," &c.—The *extent*, as well as the time, of this celebrated voyage has been involved in obscurity. By some writers the Cabots are represented as having sailed to 56 deg. north latitude; by others, to 58; by others, to 60. Ramusius, in his 3d volume, says, it was "written" to him by Sebastian Cabot, that he sailed to "the latitude of 67 degrees and an halfe, under the north pole." Hakluyt, iii. 7—9. This account is probably the true one.—Some authors say, that the Cabots sailed no farther to the south, than to 38 deg. or 36 deg. north lat. P. Martyr says, Cabot went nearly as far south, as the latitude of the straits of Hercules, or Gibraltar. Dr. Belknap [Amer. Biog. i. 154.] accordingly considered 36 deg. as the extent of the voyage; and Dr. Forster [Voy. 267.], the authority of that passage in P. Martyr, says, "Sebastian Cabot must have been about as far as Chesapeak Bay in Virginia." But the entire passage in the original (p. 232.) seems to imply, that Cabot proceeded *still* [illegible] probably southwesterly, as the coast lies, *after* he had reached [illegible]atitude. P. Martyr, having mentioned the obstruction which [illegible]d from the ice, in his voyage to the north, adds: "Quare co[illegible]uti ait, vela vertere, et occidentem sequi: tetendit que tantum [illegible]m, littore sese incurvante, ut Herculei freti latitudinus ferè [illegible]uârit: *ad occidentemque profectus tantùm est, ut Cubam insu[illegible] longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit.*" Obscure as this [illegible], it satisfies me, that Cabot sailed to Cape Florida, which lies in [illegible]20 min north lat. The English founded their original claim to [illegible]principal part of North America on the discovery made of it in this [illegible]oyage; but some writers consider the claim of no validity, because the

Cabots made no settlement. See Hazard, Coll, i. 603; Univ. Hist. xli. 86. See also p. 7, 8, of this volume. The question of right is left to jurists and statesmen; but it must be granted, that, according to the prevalent notions of former times, this was a most important voyage:

"For the time once was here, to the world be it known,
When all a man sail'd by, or saw, was his own." *Freneau.*

NOTE II. (p. 52.)

The Mexicans lived in Aztlan, a country situated to the north of California, until about A. D. 1160; when they commenced their migration toward the country of Anahuac. After a temporary residence in several intermediate places, they at length arrived at that situation on the lake, where they were to found their city. As soon as they had taken possession of it, they erected a temple for their god Huitzlopochtli, around which they now began to build huts of reeds and rushes. Such was the beginning of the great city of Mexico *. See Clavigero, i. 112—123. For a distinct view of the situation of the city with its causeways, see the map prefixed to the 2d volume of Clavigero; or the maps in other Mexican histories.

NOTE III. (p. 77.)

Although the æra of the Puritans commenced in the reign of Edward VI; yet that pious young prince very soon after began an ecclesiastical reformation. Had he lived to perfect it according to his intentions, the Puritans would probably have been satisfied. But he died in 1553, at the early age of XVI; and was succeeded by queen Mary, a bigotted papist, under whose administration John Rogers, of pious memory, was burnt at Smithfield; and bishop Hooper, with other pious reformers suffered martyrdom. On the accession of queen Elizabeth, the reformation, which had been begun by Edward, was, in some degree, restored; but that illustrious queen, addicted to show, and jealous of prerogative, soon made the Puritans feel the weight of their royal power. Bishops and other clergymen were deprived, for refusing the oath to the queen's supremacy. At length (31 Jan. 1563,) the Convocation of the English clergy met, and finished the XXXIX Articles. Of the lower house, 43 present were for throwing out the ceremonies, but 35 were for keeping them; and these, with the help of proxies, carried their measure by one vote. The bishops now begun to urge the clergy to subscribe to the Liturgy and ceremonies, as well as to the Articles. Coverdale, Fox, Humphrey, and others, refused to subscribe; and this was the epoch of NONCONFORMITY. What hard treatment the Puritan Reformers received under the succeeding administrations of James I. and of his successors, until the Revolution of William and Mary, is well known. As authorities, the reader of this Note, and give full information on the subject, the reader is referred to Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, Prince's Chronology, and Neal's History of the Puritans.

* A. D. 1325.

NOTE IV. (p. 80.)

Some historians entirely overlook this temporary settlement of the French in the English Carolina; others confound it with the settlement at St. Matheo, a few leagues north of St. Augustine. Not one of them has ascertained the *place* of it, with precision. Chalmers says, Ribault built Fort Charles, on the river Edisto. The authors of the Universal History say, it was built on the river St. Croix, which indeed, Charlevoix says, was the Spanish name of Edisto river. Charlevoix says, Ribault's Fort stood near the place where Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, now stands. Mezeray says, it was built "at the end of the Streights at St. Helens." I wrote, some time since, to Dr. Ramsay, the well known historian, and made inquiry of him respecting this article. The Doctor obligingly wrote to me in reply: "I have taken some pains to inform myself of the place where Ribaud commenced his settlement of French Protestants; but without any satisfactory result. Edisto river, in its nearest part, is about 86 miles from Charleston; but there is no evidence of any French settlement ever having been made in its vicinity. There is no river in South Carolina, known by the name of the Shallow or Base river. Mr. Drayton, our late governor, has been consulted on the points, relative to which you wish for information, who assured me, that, while writing his View of South Carolina, he minutely enquired into the very subjects, which have perplexed you, and found them so involved in darkness and contradiction, that he did not see his way clear to assert any thing on the subject, more than you will find in the 5th page of his work."

It would not become me to be positive on a subject, that is attended with such acceknowledged difficulties, and that has baffled such intelligent inquiries. I am satisfied however, that neither the latitude of the place where the fort was built, nor its distance from the river of May*, will allow us to fix it so far north, as the river Edisto. It appears clearly to have been on an island up Port Royal river, in about the latitude of 32 deg. It seems probable, that it was the island of St. Helena, or some island in its vicinity. Mezeray's account seems to fix it there. Charlevoix, in his Map of the Coasts of Florida, has placed it in that quarter, though I apprehended, too far north, at an island toward the mouth of Edisto. It is asserted on the face of the map: "Dans cette Isle Ribault bâtit petit Fort, et le nomma *Charles Fort*." There is one additional confirmation of the probable truth of my conjecture, concerning the place of that fort. When Ribault had "sailed about 15 leagues" from Port Royal river, he found another, which "had not past halfe a fathome water in the mouth thereof." This be called *Base* or *Shallow* river. Gov. Drayton (p. 34.) says "Edisto is shallow and incapable of being navigated far up its stream by vessels of heavy burden;" and, though he describes the numerous rivers between Ashley and Savannah, this is the only one, which he calls *shallow*. Hence I conclude that *the Edisto of the English is the Base or Shallow river of the French*. If so, Fort Charles must have been about 15 leagues from it; and consequently about the distance of St. Helena from the Edisto.

NOTE V. (p. 163.)

It is not so difficult to *find* proofs, in support of the text, as it is to collect them. They may be seen in Morton, 3—5; Hubbard's MS. N. Eng.;

* *Sixty French leagues. Charlevoix.*

Eng.; Mather, Magnal. book i. 6; Prince, Chron. 48, 49; Hazard's Collections, i. 349—373; Hutchinson, i. 3; Belknap, Biog. i. 151—178, *Art.* ROBINSON. The motives, ascribed by some English writers for the emigration of the Puritans from Leyden, it is easily conceived, might have been readily admitted, without critical inquiry, by the advocates for the English hierarchy, near two centuries ago; but it was hardly to be expected, that writers, of our own age, should copy the injurious representation of those early times into the pages of sober history. The historian who tells us, that the Puritans removed from Leyden into the American wilderness, because they were "obscure and unpersecuted," must not expect to be believed. We endeavoured to assign, in the text, the true cause of that removal; and have nothing to subjoin, but an expression of regret, that the misrepresentations of foreign writers, on this and the succeeding articles, have been recently transcribed into the work of a very respectable historian of our own country.

The character and principals of Mr Robinson and his Society seem not *yet* to be fully known. The reverend JOHN ROBINSON was a man of learning, of piety, and of catholicism. At first indeed he favoured the rigid separation from the church of England; but, *after his removal* to Holland, "he was convinced of his mistake, *and became*, ever after, more moderate in his sentiments respecting separation." Baylie, who was zealously opposed both to the Brownists and Independents, allows, that "Mr. Robinson was a man of excellent parts, and the most learned, polished, and modest spirit, as ever separated from the church of England; that he ruined the rigid separation; and that he was a principal overthrower of the Brownists." See Prince, 86—94; Coll. Hist. Soc. iv. 133—143; Belknap, Biog. *Art.* ROBINSON; Mosheim, v. 381. chap. xxi.

Against the concession, of enemies however, and the demonstrations of friends, the Puritans of Leyden and of New England are, *to this day*, represented as Brownists; that is, the followers of Robert Brown, a sectary, whose principals were, in many respects, very exceptionable, in the view of old sober Christians: and who at length abandoned them himself, and conformed to the church of England. Mr. Robinson, who ought to be allowed to say what were his own principles, has explicitly declared them, in "A just and necessary Apologie of Certain Christians no lesse contumeliously than commonly called Brownists or Barrowists." This Apology professes "before God and men, that such is our accord in the case of religion with the Dutch Reformed Churches as that we are ready to subscribe to all and everie article of faith ... the same church as they are layd in the Harmony of Confessions of Faith, published in their name;" with the exception of "one only particle," relating to the Apocrypha. On examining the Dutch [Belgic] Confession of Faith in the Harmonia Confessionum, I find it to be the same in Latin which, translated into English, now constitutes a part of "The Constitution of the Reformed Dutch Church in the United States of America," and essentially agrees, in its *doctrines*, with the Church of England.

NOTE VI. (p. 223.)

For the principles and usages of the congregational churches, see Cotton's Power of the Keys, Hooker's Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline, Norton's Answer to the Enquiries of Apollonius, Cambridge Platform, Mather's Magnalia, book v. Ratio Disciplinæ Fratrum Nov. Ang. Hutchinson, i. chap. iv. and Stiles' Christian Union.

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